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# *The Crowded Ways*

# The Crowded Ways

*by*

Charles Hatch Sears

Council of Women for Home Missions
and
Missionary Education Movement
New York

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Dr. Sears is the author of *The Redemption of the City,* and of *Edward Judson: Interpreter of God.* He planned and edited the volume entitled *Church City Planning,* also the New American Series of eighteen volumes on various national groups in America.

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AND MISSIONARY EDUCATION MOVEMENT

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To *my associates*

*with grateful appreciation*

S. B. H.
R. E. H.
G. D.
E. C. K.
R. V. R.
F. A. C.

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*Where cross the crowded ways of life,*
*Where sound the cries of race and clan,*
*Above the noise of selfish strife,*
*We hear thy voice, O Son of Man!*

*In haunts of wretchedness and need,*
*On shadowed thresholds dark with fears,*
*From paths where hide the lures of greed,*
*We catch the vision of thy tears.*

*From tender childhood's helplessness,*
*From woman's grief, man's burdened toil,*
*From famished souls, from sorrow's stress,*
*Thy heart has never known recoil.*

*The cup of water given for thee*
*Still holds the freshness of thy grace;*
*Yet long these multitudes to see*
*The sweet compassion of thy face.*

*O Master, from the mountain side,*
*Make haste to heal these hearts of pain,*
*Among these restless throngs abide,*
*Oh, tread the city's streets again!*

*Till sons of men shall learn thy love,*
*And follow where thy feet have trod;*
*Till glorious from thy heaven above*
*Shall come the city of our God.*

—Frank Mason North.

## *Foreword*

It is the purpose of this study to interpret the city in terms of personality.

To see the city in its effect on individuals rather than in terms of organizations.

To see the community in terms of human relationships rather than in terms of material environment.

To appraise the city church for its ability to help men transcend environment, rather than for its ability to survive in an adverse environment.

To show that changes in the city man are of greater moment than changes in the city environment.

To point out essential differences between the city mind and the rural mind.

To show by concrete examples what city environment is doing to people.

To show the downward pull of bad environment on the average person, particularly the handicapped individual and family.

To show social responsibility for conditions for which the individual is not immediately responsible and from which the average individual, certainly the underprivileged individual, cannot escape.

To show by concrete illustration that the religious and moral redemption of the individual is basic and

that the redemption of the city can come in no other way.

The author finds a force in human affairs that is as much to be relied upon as gravitation, and that may be used like electricity. He calls it religion; he calls it God; he finds that God is in Christ. He confesses to the zeal of an evangelist in bringing this power into the lives of men. The validity of religious experience is not argued, it is assumed, or rather, honestly reported. Every life story in this volume is attested by the observation of the author or by someone well known to him. Quite aside from any subjective purpose, the author has attempted to draw a picture of the city as he has seen it during a period of over thirty years with a rather unusual opportunity to know people of many races and of almost every economic status. He has tried to "paint the thing as he sees it for the God of things as they are."

Acknowledgment is due to the authors referred to in the text, particularly to Dr. H. Paul Douglass, and to the several writers quoted from the *American Journal of Sociology,* which has been found a splendid source of material. Thanks are also due to a number of personal friends who prefer that no public credit be given them for painstaking review of the text and for most valuable suggestions.

CHARLES HATCH SEARS

*New York City*
*April,* 1929

# The Crowded Ways

*The city—what is a city?*

*A city—that is where both Dives and Lazarus live.*

*A city—that is where men die of loneliness in a crowd.*

*A city—that is the land of plenty where men die of starvation.*

*A city—that is where a thousand people live on an acre of ground that they never see.*

*A city is where thousands live in a single block and never know they have a neighbor.*

*A city is a place where may be seen both the glitter of vice and the glow of virtue.*

*A city is a place where vice centers in sunless spots, and where virtue shines in secluded places.*

*A city is all desert for some, all oasis for others.*

*A city is a place which some greet with a cheer; others endure with tears.*

*But a city may not be characterized in epigram.*

—Charles H. Sears in the
*Biblical World*, October, 1916.

# I

# *The City Grows Up*

By travel one may jump generations, turn the clock backward by centuries. I remember the stories of my childhood; stories of my maternal great-grandmother who traveled alone on horseback with a babe in her arms through the forests from central New York to visit her mother in Connecticut; stories of communities self-contained in what they thought as in what they consumed—the good old days of the spinning wheel and of restricted community life. Not being able to go back to those days, I decided a few years ago to go over to them. I found them up in the Carpathian Mountains of Czechoslovakia in the village of Mengusovci.[1]

## A VILLAGE OF CONTRAST

The dress of the people made the first strong impression; the men in full-sleeved linen shirts and wide wool-fleeced trousers; the women in very full printed linen skirts, full dark aprons, decorated bodices, bright head shawls tied under the chin; the little girls dressed like their mothers, but with shawls of flaming red.

[1] Men-gū-sōf'çi.

Except for their boots, these people make all their clothing during the long winter months with their own hands, from flax and wool raised on their own farms.

Their dark bread and butter, their sheep's and goat's cheese, practically all their food our friends of Mengusovci had themselves produced. "Do you drink coffee?" we asked. "Why drink coffee when we have milk?" was the reply. "We have little need of money," they told us later. "We raise almost everything we need."

Industry in this village of contrast was confined to agriculture and to raising horses, sheep, geese and stock. The cultivated fields just outside the village were laid out in narrow strips, two strips to a household, each household having the right to graze cattle and flocks in a common pasture land and to cut wood in a common forest. It was August, harvesting was on. Men, women and children were in the fields. There was an exchange of labor between neighbor and neighbor. All contacts were personal and intimate.

Our second arrival in the village was just at the break of a heavy thunder storm. In rushed a flock of geese, perhaps three hundred of them, which had been cared for during the day by gypsy herdsmen; then in succession a drove of horses, a herd of milch cows, a herd of young stock, each with its own herdsman—gypsies engaged by the villagers and paid in grain, bread and cheese. After the thunder storm, the women, barefooted, fell to washing the family

clothing in the turbulent mountain stream which rushed through the village. This stream is the village water supply, save for a spring which is used for drinking water, ready at hand and without cost.

Our host responded to a fire call that night. He was gone until near morning, for a hay barn had been struck by lightning. "I have to go," he explained in the morning, "as I am one of the twenty-six able-bodied men of the community." Every man helped his neighbor. There was never a question about it.

"Do not be alarmed if you hear strange calls during the night," our hostess remarked as she turned over her one-room cottage to us for the night. "The watchmen cry out each hour." We did not miss the call a single time. "What was that peculiar call we heard just before morning?" we asked at breakfast. "That was the call of the citizen watchman. Each able-bodied man is on duty once a month to watch the watchmen." Service in this community was personal and direct.

The social life of Mengusovci was community-centered, in church, in school, and in home. Moreover, every man carried his own burden, save only as family or neighbor voluntarily gave him a lift. There was no need of organized social service. Except for a restlessness which had crept in from America, the people seemed content. The daughter-in-law of our hostess, a young woman who had lived in Connecticut but had come back with her husband and young child

after the war, to help rehabilitate the families and to aid the village, said regretfully, "It's dark here at night, and it's muddy. I tried to wear my American clothes, but they would not last; these rough ones are better for work in the field." And then she added with a sigh, "We want to take little Charles to America, but I am afraid we cannot get a passport." Later her husband took a journey of four hundred miles to Prague with the writer to see the American consul, only to be told that the waiting list for America was so large there was little hope for him for years. He is still waiting.

We were struck in Mengusovci by another outstanding fact, in sharpest contrast with American cities. The people were of one race, Slovaks all, save for a resident colony of gypsies. The gypsy colony on the outskirts of the village was not the usual roving gypsy band but a permanent settlement. What a picture of wretchedness they presented!—poor huts without floors, stove or furniture, with a bit of straw for a bed, a box for a table, the earth for a chair, a few stones for the fire; scraps of beef bones and refuse gathered from a village killing of a beef the night before—the people anæmic, sick, half starved. But the gypsies were no essential part of this prosperous Slovak village. In citizenship, in kinship, in neighborliness, they were outcasts. No conflicting racial or national standards existed. The people were keenly nationalistic, but Slovak, not Czechoslovak. They did not have any too much sympathy for their national team-

mates the Czechs, or Bohemians, with whom they were tied into the new republic.

### CITIES IN CONTRAST

Throughout our present study we shall consider life in the American city in contrast with life in Mengusovci. In this connection let us observe some of the more obvious differences.

Clothing is the superficial mark of a city man. European peasants proud of their provinces denote their provincialism by their clothing. The city man conceals his provincialism by the same means. In cities there is studied effort that clothing shall not reveal race, rank, or origin.

Distinctive foods betray nationality and race far more than does clothing. Taste for particular food acquired in childhood lingers a lifetime. The racial background of city neighborhoods is betrayed by the grocery, the fruit stand, the coffee house and the café. Chinese gravitate to Chinatown to buy rice and distinctive vegetables; Hungarians and Italians seek their own restaurants for goulash and spaghetti.

In Mengusovci we found people to be our chief interest. They were bigger than their village and more important than their clothing or food. They towered above their work. Persons stood out in value above things. We found them at their best as hosts.

In cities men are lost in the works. Skyscrapers, hotels, and bridges are more imposing than people; hotels,

theaters and other amusement centers more alluring than homes. Only the more favored of city dwellers in large American cities can dispense the grace of hospitality. The less favored, shut into tiny apartments or living in furnished rooms, lacking the facilities for entertaining either inside or outside their homes, are denied one of the elemental satisfactions of normal human life, and their children are denied the cultural influence that comes from contact with chosen guests. There are exceptions—some happy, others unfortunate. A child from an immigrant home was habitually late at school. "Why are you so often late, Rosie?" "I stood up too late." "Stood up too late? What do you mean?" "Father has friends come in almost every night and the beds aren't let down till they go, and sometimes that's after midnight." In another family of new Americans well known to the writer, the children slept on the floor nearly all summer—there were so many guests and no guest room. This is hospitality at the expense of child life.

Industry, using the word in a very general sense, is a point of sharpest contrast between the modern city and Mengusovci. There industry united people. Men and women, children and parents, neighbors and neighbors, and to a degree the gypsy herdsmen and the Slovak owner, all worked together. Relationships were direct, personal and intimate. "These gypsies, they are half starved, yet you trust them to take care of your geese," we observed. "They rarely steal

a goose—we can control that," was the answer. The control was quite direct and decidedly personal.

In the modern American city, industry has cut chasms between the worker on the one side, and the owner and the manager on the other. It has created class consciousness, sharply defined, often bitter. In Mengusovci industry makes no such division. In America the worker hopes some time to take the place of the manager or owner. Class conflict and the ambition to rise above present status have an intimate bearing on the conduct of the city man, and on determining the city mind. Industry is at the heart of the city problem. It tends to make a man a mere cog in the machine, to depersonalize him. The great mass of workers never become owners or operators.

The simplicity of Mengusovci stands in sharpest contrast with the complexity of the modern city. In such villages people do for themselves what the city man employs others to do for him. The city demands specialists. Fire fighting in cities has become a science. Throwing water on a one-story cottage from buckets in Mengusovci is one thing, projecting water from high-pressure mains to the top of a skyscraper in Chicago is quite another. We are told that fire fighters and fire apparatus in American cities top the world in efficiency. They certainly top the world in cost.

Forcing water from the Gilboa Dam under the Catskill Mountains, leading it under the Hudson River, aërating it, storing it in scores of reservoirs and supply-

ing it to millions of household faucets, is a more difficult engineering feat, we are told, than building the Panama Canal. This illustrates the huge task of meeting one of the most elemental needs of the city—a task that does not cost our Mengusovci friends one penny.

How many things a modern city must do for its people! This fact is reflected in city budgets. Detroit spends over two and three-quarter millions for public welfare, not including ten and a half millions for public health. The heaviest demands on the budget of that city are for education, for fire and police protection, and for roads. The budget contains also such items as libraries, parks and boulevards, public entertainments, city plan, art, recreation, market, house of correction, zoölogical park—in all, thirty-six classifications. These main classifications give no idea of items within the groups, such as dog pound, weights and measures, traffic service, playgrounds, skating rinks, athletic fields, picnic grounds, elections, golf course, aquarium, forest nursery, street trees, drinking fountains, street lighting. The city of Cleveland lists provision for a Bureau of Girls' Home, Bureau of Correction Farm, Meat and Dairy Inspection, Food and Drug Administration, Bureau of Trade Waste, Boxing Commission, Division of Air Port.

The city is ever a study in contrasts, in light and shadows. Budgets are no exception. On the one hand city budgets mean burdensome taxation and high

cost of living; on the other hand they reflect a social consciousness, a city mind, a concern for the welfare of the city as a whole. Acceptance of social responsibility is expressed in the tax rate. We did not find the same concern in Mengusovci. The gypsy colony was kept from starvation by a narrow margin. What a challenge to public service and welfare it presented, and with no response.

This social concern, by no means confined to cities, is one of the fortunate expressions of the city mind. The figures of a city budget are not cold, but reflect the heat of social passion. We find this in an official city report. After referring to periodic health examination, which only the wise and prudent have learned to regard as a necessity, this report points out that 126,977 persons have sought such examination in the public clinics of that city, and adds this word: "It is a gratifying thing and a testimony to the extraordinary generosity and humanity of the medical profession, that these treatments by physicians of the highest professional standing are given without charge to the city, not one dollar coming out of the city treasury for the remuneration of the physician." [1]

Cities are made of people, not of buildings. What is more pathetic than a deserted house? What is more tragic than an abandoned city? In the devastated areas of Europe such cities were gaunt reminders of

[1] From the 1925 Report of the Department of Public Welfare of the City of New York, p. 5.

the World War long after the armistice. The average visitor coming to see the city spends his time in looking at buildings and forgets about the people. We could not make that mistake in Mengusovci. The people were too interesting, too kindly, and too hospitable. City people are quite as interesting; beneath a veneer of conventionality they are quite as human. Withal they present more contrasts.

### FROM WHENCE DO CITY PEOPLE COME?

From whence do city people come? Just before that great stream of population which had moved westward across America for three centuries was checked at the Pacific, a little before the turn of the last century, two other greater population streams converged upon the cities. One of these streams, formed from rivulets among the hills and augmented from villages and towns in the valley, swept swiftly onward to the city. It was the city trend. The other sprang from European villages, first in England, Scotland and Ireland, Norway and Sweden, Germany and France, then in Russia, Hungary and Italy; gaining momentum during the last decade of the last century and the first of this century until it had attained an annual volume of one million souls. It was the immigration movement. This too converged upon the cities and fairly inundated them. Either of these streams would have been quite enough—but together! No wonder Frederic T. Howe says, "The city is not a new problem,

it is a new thing"; and again, "The modern city marks an epoch in our civilization." [1]

But the source of the city's human supply will bear closer study.

*By Natural Increase*

Mengusovci, our village of contrast, reared its own people as did the community of the author's boyhood. There was but one main source of supply—babies, what is known technically as natural increase.

Is this condition true of cities? Until very recent times people died in cities faster than they were born, to put it paradoxically. Speaking generally of cities in the past, Weber says, "The mortality was so high that the deaths annually equalled or exceeded in number the births." [2] It is less than one hundred years since the balance between deaths and births was struck in favor of births. This is true of cities the world over. In Stockholm, where conditions were particularly good for that time, death struck down in 1825 forty-five out of every thousand of the people. By 1830 the death list had been cut by a third, and by 1910 by another third. Thus babies gained a chance to grow up.

As late as 1856 death claimed annually a toll of thirty-two out of every thousand persons in New York. It took about fifty years to reduce this number to nine-

[1] Howe, *The City the Hope of Democracy*, pp. 9, 44.
[2] Weber, *Growth of Cities*, p. 238.

teen. During the next four years it was further reduced to a little less than sixteen. Within the period of a normal life's span, three score years and ten, the death rate of this city has been cut by about two-thirds. Like progress has been made in most other American cities.[1]

What bearing has all this upon the ability of a city to rear its people? On the basis of the latest available figures (1923) for cities of ten thousand population or over, the death rate for whites is 12.4 for each group of one thousand persons, while the birth rate is 22.2, showing a net gain of nearly ten persons. For Negroes, however, while the birth rate is high (25.2), the death rate is startlingly high (22), registering a net gain in the life and death struggle of Negroes in cities of only about three in a group of a thousand. This is clear reflection of the conditions under which Negroes are compelled to live. In fairness it must be said, however, that these figures and supporting facts make it quite clear that Negroes themselves have not yet learned how to live in cities—a challenge to the leaders of their own race as well as to social and church workers generally.[2]

What of the outlook for future growth from natural increase? Since 1920 the birth rate has been falling faster than the death rate. "If the birth rate," says Warren Thompson, "should fall in the entire country as it has in the registration area, that is, for those sec-

[1] See Appendix, Table 1.
[2] See Appendix, Table 2.

tions of the United States in which the records of births and death are kept and reported to the federal government, the rate of natural increase in 1930 will be scarcely three-fourths of what it was in 1920."[1] The outlook for future growth from natural increase is therefore not very good.

*From Many Lands*

It is a well-known fact that for more than a generation immigrants from Europe and Asia have settled largely in cities. The Jews, as ever, are city men. Farmers and village people from Italy have taken to the cities in America. So too have the Greeks, Syrians, Russians, Chinese, and Japanese, all of them accustomed to country ways and open fields. Chicago, for example, has drawn nearly one-eighth of its population from Polish sources (11.81%), more than one-eighth from German sources, one-twelfth from Russian sources.

Had there been an even distribution in the flow of immigration, it would, like the flood of the river Nile, have left a deposit that would have made for the enrichment of America. It was not so distributed; it dammed up in the cities. Southeastern Europeans, for example, have been attracted most largely to the metropolis, causing upheaval in scores of communities and confusion in church life over large areas.

Since the adoption of the new federal immigration law, European immigration has dwindled to a small

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1928, vol. XXXIV.

stream and has greatly altered its composition. The figures for 1927 show a total net gain of arrivals over departures of only 2,671; in the case of a number of countries there is a net loss. From several countries there is a considerable inflow; for example, from Germany, from the British Isles and Canada, and notably from Mexico. Among the list of countries contributing 5,000 or more persons, Canada is at the head, while Poland is the only southeastern European country in the group.

Whether the restrictions on immigration continue or not, the children of the one-time immigrant are with us. They and their children's children are here to remain. They will constitute a large percentage of the population of the city of the future. Immigration therefore has been a large factor in the growth of cities.

*From Rural Areas*

American cities did not begin their rapid growth until long after the Revolution, indeed not until after the Civil War. City population in the United States grew rapidly from 1820 to 1830, moderately from 1830 to 1840, and then there was recession from 1850 to 1860, due to the westward movement of the "covered wagon."

Something happened in America between 1860 and 1870. The chief occupation of the country suddenly began to change from agriculture to manufacture. Up to the time of the Civil War the majority of workers

were engaged in agriculture. After the Civil War the rural movement to the cities became a mass movement, with only temporary interruptions. In 1880 the proportion of workers thus engaged was less than one-half. By 1920 it had dropped to about one-fourth.

While the number of farmers has steadily decreased, the quantity of agricultural products has kept pace with the demands of an increasing population for the reason that the average acreage of cultivation by the individual has enlarged. Secretary of Agriculture Jardine recently said, "In 1880 each farm worker cultivated an average of less than 22 acres of crops. By 1900 he was cultivating about 28 acres, and in 1925 about 30 acres. . . . The farm worker in a Kansas wheat field last year could harvest as much as five or six men a decade ago, and as much as thirty to forty men could harvest in 1846." [1] "Perhaps the situation will be even more striking," observes Dr. Thompson, "if we realize that practically 3,800,000 fewer people on the farms today than in 1920 are furnishing the agricultural produce needed by a population about 12,000,000 greater than in 1920." [2]

The ability of a decreasing number of men to produce an increasing supply of food is the basic explanation of the trend of rural population to the cities. In view of this fact, is it not quite useless to attempt to turn the tide from city back to farm?

[1] *Herald Tribune Magazine,* April 15, 1928.
[2] *American Journal of Sociology,* July, 1928, vol. XXXIV, p. 14.

How recent is this change in farm life is illustrated by the experience of the writer, who remembers the first binder brought into the farming section of central New York where he lived as a boy. The old reaper which required hand binding of the sheaves was already in use, but it was so costly that many farmers could not afford it. The writer well remembers striking into standing grain with the cradle. With what pride the golden grain was laid in straight swaths from tip of cradle fingers, requiring a deft and sudden wrist movement, and what pride there was in cutting a wide swath!

During the past few years the movement from country to city has been greatly augmented by the city trek of Negroes. In 1870 there were only 750,000 Negroes in American cities. By 1900 this number had increased to two millions. Negro city population has practically doubled since 1900. Never in the history of the nation has there been anything comparable to this shift of Negroes from country to city. It is the impression of Northerners that this movement is to Northern cities primarily. Quite the contrary. The increase in Northern and Western cities from 1900 to 1920 was 671,292, while in the South it was 886,173. But the percentage of gain was vastly greater in the North (60.6) than in the South (10.5). Possibly the gain in actual numbers in Northern cities since 1920 may have been greater than in Southern cities; accurate figures are not yet available.

This mass movement not only complicates the city problem, it intensifies the race problem. "Since emancipation, nothing more astounding than this shift of Negroes to cities has occurred to affect the contact between the races." [1] A further important fact is that the Negro has been attracted primarily to the larger cities, chiefly to the metropolitan centers of the East and Middle West. In 1920 the six cities of over 100,000 Negro population in order of size were New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Baltimore, and New Orleans. Note that three of the six are in the North.

The inflow of all types of population from rural areas is still on and promises to continue. This flood of life from the farm and village to the city is reflected in the growth of cities in the Middle West. Cities in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin are gaining in population more rapidly than cities in any other section of the country. The cities west of the Mississippi River are second in the race, while New York, in losing her largest source of supply—southeastern European immigration—is falling behind in the race. This comes as a surprise to the average New Yorker, so confident is he of the continued numerical supremacy of his city.

[1] See Appendix, Tables 4 and 5. See also Woofter, *Negro Problems in Cities*, p. 29.

### CITY GROWTH AND CHURCH GROWTH

Cities have drawn from the great population reservoirs. For nearly two generations the flow toward the cities has been steady and in large volume; though diminished, it is still disproportionate to the increase in rural areas. Has the church had a corresponding growth in cities?

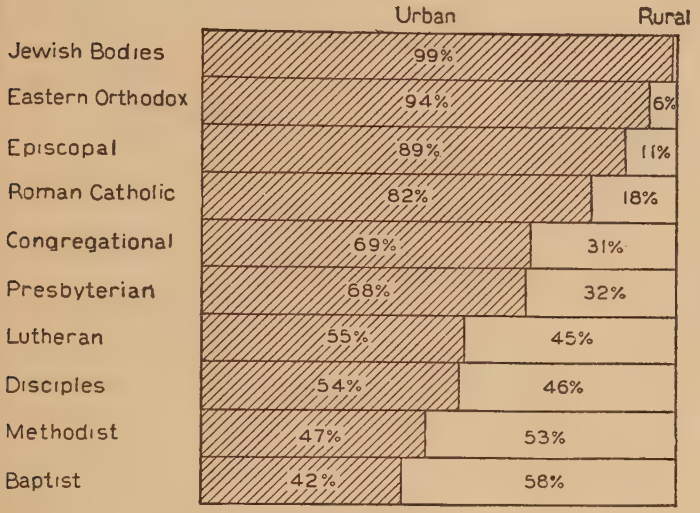
Until 1926 the decennial Census of Religious Bodies made no division in its return on the basis of rural and urban membership, therefore no comparison can be made decade by decade. The 1926 census shows that there is a higher percentage of urban population than of rural in church membership. The entire population of the United States is 54% urban, while of the total recorded membership in ten leading religious bodies 69.9% is urban.[1]

It is evident, however, that certain religious bodies have profited more largely than others from the urban growth of population. In ratio of urban to rural members the Jews show the sharpest contrast, 99% of their membership being urban. The contrast between the urban and rural membership of the Roman Catholic church is almost as great, 82% being urban. While the combined membership of Baptist and Methodist churches within the United States is greater than the Roman Catholic membership, the Catholics claim more city members than the Baptists, Methodists,

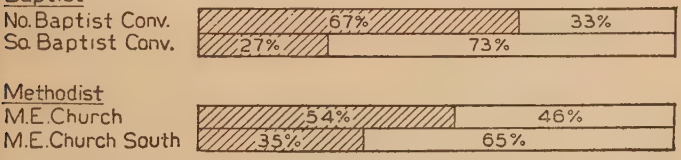
[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXXIV, no. 2.

FIGURE 1

COMPARISON OF URBAN AND RURAL MEMBERSHIP IN TEN RELIGIOUS BODIES *



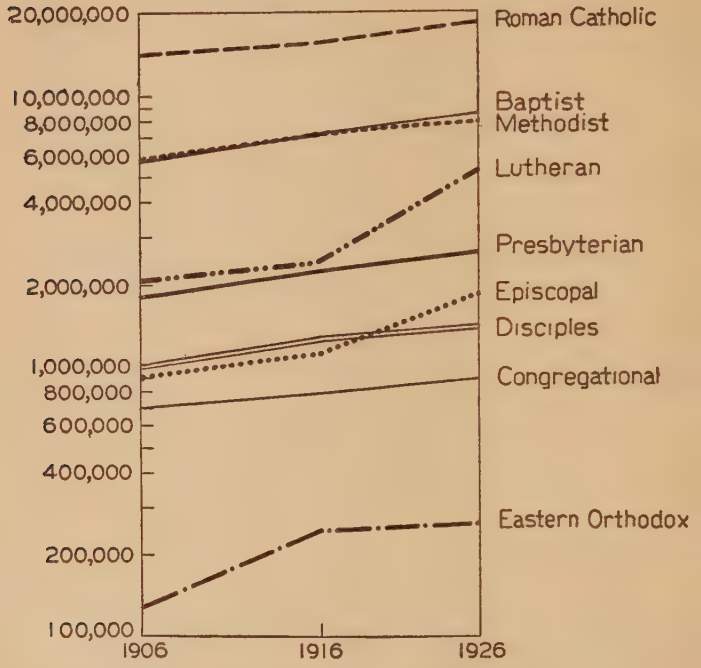

Detail of Leading Methodist and Baptist Groups




* Compiled from Federal Census of Religious Bodies, 1926.

FIGURE 2

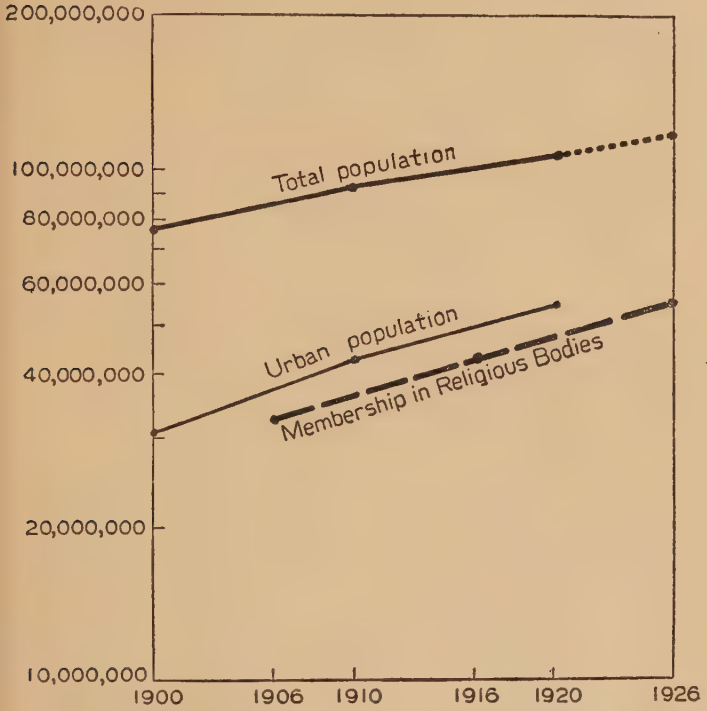
GROWTH IN MEMBERSHIP IN NINE RELIGIOUS BODIES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1906-26 *




* Compiled from Federal Census of Religious Bodies—1906, 1916, 1926. This chart is drawn with a vertical ratio scale; an equal distance on the scale represents an equal rate of change, therefore the same slant of line denotes the same rate of growth. The charts on pp. 23 and 36 are similarly drawn.

FIGURE 3

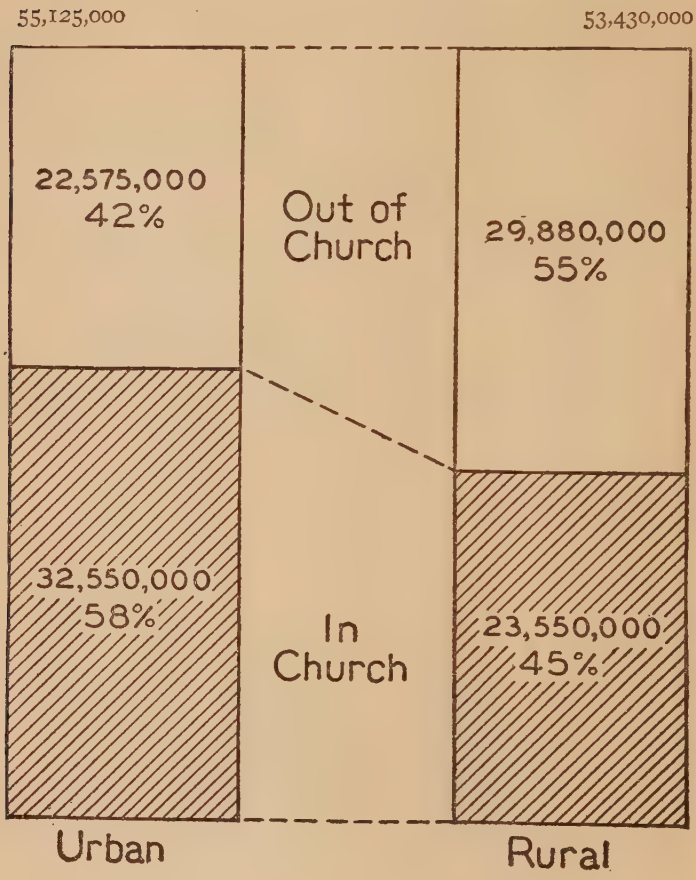
COMPARISON IN INCREASE OF POPULATION, IN THE UNITED STATES, OF URBAN POPULATION AND OF MEMBERSHIP IN RELIGIOUS BODIES *




* The statistics regarding total and urban population were drawn from the general Federal Census of 1900, 1910, and 1920, whereas the Federal Census of Religious Bodies, from which the statistics of religious membership were drawn, was taken in 1906, 1916, and 1926. (See footnote, p. 22.)

FIGURE 4

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, URBAN AND RURAL, "IN CHURCH" AND "OUT OF CHURCH" (FEDERAL CENSUS)



Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Lutherans combined.

The rapid urban growth of the Eastern Orthodox churches clearly reflects southeastern European immigration; that of the Lutheran churches reflect European sources generally; Catholic growth reflects the heavy Catholic immigration under old immigration laws. The newer immigration of today is predominantly Protestant in faith, giving the Protestant churches a new responsibility and the largest opportunity they have had for a generation.[1]

### WHY CITIES ATTRACT

We have seen that in the shaping of modern life a decreasing proportion of the population is required to provide raw food supply. This is a stubborn and basic fact. It is true, however, that the farms could have maintained a larger share of the population of the nation, had not country people been drawn to the cities by other than economic forces.

Higher standards of living, refinement of products, and improvement of economic conditions generally will increase the demand for manufacture, trade and commerce. It is significant, however, that during the years since the World War there has been a remarkable increase in productivity per man power in manufacture. This would seem to indicate that a smaller proportion of the population will be required in indus-

[1] See Appendix, Table 3.

try in the future than in the past. Decreased working hours, even a five-day week, may absorb much of this saving. In all justice, a decrease in the working hours of farmers should be made before the entire saving is absorbed by workers in industry. Such an adjustment in itself would tend to draw workers back to the farm, but many other factors operate.

An increased number of executives, lawyers, and industrial specialists, for example, are required in the natural operation and expansion of trade and commerce. Their activities are largely concentrated in cities. In this concentration the metropolitan centers are increasingly important. There is likely to be an increase rather than a decrease of city men of these types. An increasing number are engaged in professional life—physicians specializing to the last degree, artists and writers, teachers, ministers, and social workers, are endeavoring to preserve, widen and enrich human life in cities. To provide food, clothing, transportation, recreation and amusement for an increasing city population requires the services of an increasing number of people.

The mere mechanism of city life—to build, preserve, regulate, and finally to govern the city—makes its heavy demands upon the population sources. Executives and humble workers so employed constitute a large army. They live by concentration. It was only a few years ago that it became necessary to put on traffic squads to regulate the flow of vehicles. Many

will remember when a hansom cab was the most dangerous thing on the avenue.

The world's knowledge has ever been preserved in cities. Where would the history of civilization have been were it not for the cities of the Middle Ages? Ancient cities too are now telling their secrets to modern times. Students have always gravitated to cities.

And what shall we say of the innumerable company of those who are drawn to the city by the lure of city life—for recreation, for amusement, for culture, for religion—for thrill and mere curiosity, or that they may perchance find "more life and fuller?" No, it is not due entirely to economic necessity that cities have grown. The city itself attracts; it has great centripetal power; it draws men to it as a planet holds a satellite, as mass attracts mass. Men flock to the city as meteorites fall into the sun, under the spell of a kind of social gravitation, and the larger the city the greater its centripetal power.

Pewter is worn away by friction, but "iron sharpeneth iron." The city gives a strong man a keener cutting edge. The very attrition of city life may wear away a weak man, but it shapes and moulds a strong one. A strong man revels in the selective principle characteristic of the city. Both the highly cultivated and useful herb and the noxious weed find in city soil the elements their qualities require. This contrasted growth continues in the same garden. So both good

men and bad seek and find that which they most desire in the city soil.

Every town and every countryside in America has contributed its people to the city—white men, black men, yes, and red men. People of strange tongues and motley costumes from every city and village of Europe have sought the crowded ways of American cities. Chinese and Japanese, Indians and Mongolians, Egyptians and Africans, have come bringing their foods and wares, their cultures and their religions. America, with all her glaring and well advertised faults, has become the land of desire for plain people of many lands, and her cities are the points of concentration of this desire.

The city itself has had sheer delight in growing big. Its streets are so many and so long that no citizen may see all the streets of his city, and yet he boasts their length. The average New Yorker must be jolted occasionally lest he forget that the sidewalks of New York are not the highways of America, and yet these sidewalks, end to end, would stretch from the Atlantic to the Pacific and leave enough over for a good-sized city. The Woolworth Tower and many other buildings in large cities dwarf the Tower of Babel. Now Boston proposes to overshadow them all. Small cities, that might so readily spread out, build high up to imitate great cities and to outdo some small rival. Bigness is the mania of American cities. The modern city is big, but, what is quite as important, it has become

big suddenly, unexpectedly. It has rushed in upon us before we were ready to receive it, like a growing youth into a drawing-room—awkward, noisy and boisterous, without a due sense of the amenities of life.

History teaches that it takes time for a people to adjust themselves to great social changes. An idea moves slowly through a large body of people. The social mind is made up slowly. When it is set it is obstinate. In considering the problems to be presented in the following pages, the sudden emergence of the modern city must be taken into account. Give civilization a chance! Give Christianity a chance! Has any other religious system, or any other culture, ever been compelled to face so vast a social problem so suddenly?

The American city, like an adolescent, has come through its period of exuberant growth. The city has grown up. It is coming into an adult mind, a city mind.

## II

# *The City Mind*

This chapter is devoted to the study of the changed city man. It has been assumed that the problem of the city church has grown out of the rapid community changes of recent years. Community changes have been catastrophic and frequently disastrous to the church, but the problem is much deeper. The problem of the city church grows out of changes in the city man.

We shall therefore explore the peculiarities of the city mind in contrast with the rural mind, to find what manner of man this city man is; whether his change of mind is for better or worse. This will require a little patient study. The study will appear academic at times, but its purpose is intensely practical. The necessity for a clear understanding of the mind of the city man is basic, and is quite as vital to churchmen as to city fathers.

The change from country or rural mind to city or urban mind is a natural process and grows directly out of environment and experience. As a farmer boy the writer knew his father's farm, its contour, the lay of every field, pasture and woodland. He came to

know the composition of the soil, where clay spots and gravel were to be found, and where rocks and roots were located. He came to know horses and cows, each of which had an individuality. Temperament in a herd is a reality, "social distance" a fact. The individual isolation of underlings is known in every herd. Individual members of the herd must accept social gradation and not be guilty of invasion or trespass upon the prerogatives of others. But behold, the farmer boy is master of them all. He attains a sense of confidence and mastery.

The city man, on the other hand, has to do with things and people not known and with forces not understood. He is compelled to make inferences and to draw conclusions. He must be able to analyze character and to classify people. He does not deal with the concrete but is compelled to deal with the abstract. Driven in upon himself, he becomes reflective, usually self-defensive.

### MOBILITY

Professor Steiner once remarked that in Poland a man is found where his grandfather put him. In America a Pole may be found in Boston today and in Chicago tomorrow. The attitude of the old lady in Back Bay, Boston, who, in discussing with a guest the inconveniences and what she deemed the improprieties of traveling in a Pullman, remarked with complacency, "Why should I travel? I am here already," is not typical of the average American.

While mobility is not a characteristic of the city alone, in the cities there is much greater mobility than in the villages or rural areas. The average city man is as migratory as the Arab and leaves as little behind him. Cities, particularly the great cities, are in a state of unstable equilibrium. City life is conditioned by the shifting of residence groups, of work groups, or of trade centers from one section to another.

Mobility in cities is due in part to specialization. "In the city every vocation, even that of a beggar, tends to assume the character of a profession." [1] There is an ever increasing number of occupations. Every community is dependent upon every other community, every trade upon every other trade, every man upon a multitude of men. In this specialization the city man becomes a dependent. Our Czechoslovak village of contrast may very properly be called, in the terms of the sociologist, a social segment, self-contained in ideas and in occupation, but the city is a place of dependence; it is what the sociologist calls a social organ.

There is a natural segregation by occupation. Every city has its retail districts, its wholesale districts—in large cities specialized by type—its amusement center, its transient hotel center, its shopping center. Moreover, there has ever been a periodic shifting of business districts, to the disruption of other districts and particularly to the displacement of the home and to the

[1] Park and Burgess, *The City*, p. 14.

confusion of the church. This shifting and breakdown of communities is a major problem of city planners, and is one reason why undertakings of the city church are hazardous.

To a less degree, occupation groups center their residences in given localities. The rapid growth of the modern city has made it possible for a trades union or occupational group to seek a given neighborhood for residence. A church comity committee was studying a new section preliminary to planting a new church, when a large trade group, all Jewish, engaged in the clothing industry, decided to live there, and the church project was abandoned.

### FLUIDITY

It is the fluidity of the city, as Mr. Frederic C. Howe points out, which makes city civilization possible, the regular movement of people from one locality to another. This flow of population is due to the movement of specialists to their work—laborers, artisans, tradesmen, merchants, professional men, entertainers, beggars, thieves—and to the daily quest for the utilities, values and thrills which the city has to offer. The circulation of a city population is dependent upon tranportation—street cars, elevated railroads, subways, buses, automobiles, and in recent years upon suburban transportation facilities.

There are striking exceptions to this general rule of mobility and fluidity as applied to both individuals

and communities. The New York papers gave prominence recently to the death of an old man, one John O'Connell, who died at the age of eighty-nine after seventy-two years of continuous service with the Consolidated Gas Company. He refused promotion that would take him out of his neighborhood. His recorded travels for a lifetime included one trip in the subway as far as 125th Street some years ago—a distance of less than five miles, taking less than twenty minutes —and another ride to the Battery, of shorter time and distance. The New York *Times* of July 16, 1928, observed, "There are great masses of people in New York who know little or nothing of their city outside of the routine of their work and their pleasures." The typical business man knows very little of the city out of the beaten paths, and probably no one can know a large city in all its complexity. The writer frequently has met old residents of the "seventh ward" of New York, better known as Greenwich Village, who boasted that they had never lived outside the ward.

A girl of twelve or thirteen was taken in a church club group to Coney Island. Her sense of wonder and excitement was so great that her pastor, who conducted the party, was led to ask, "Have you never seen the ocean before?" "No, never." "At any rate, you must have seen the Hudson River." No, she had not, although it was less than a mile from her home. Always she had had a baby brother or sister to tend, and had lived her life "forenoon, afternoon and night," day

after day, entirely within an Italian colony down below Washington Square on the west side of New York.

A city pastor was accustomed to take working women to see the parks and the river. He was frequently surprised to find that his guests had never before been out of their restricted community. They did not even know that there were parks or trees in more favored localities. These exceptions, however, only bring into relief the general rule of city fluidity.

### COMMUNICATION

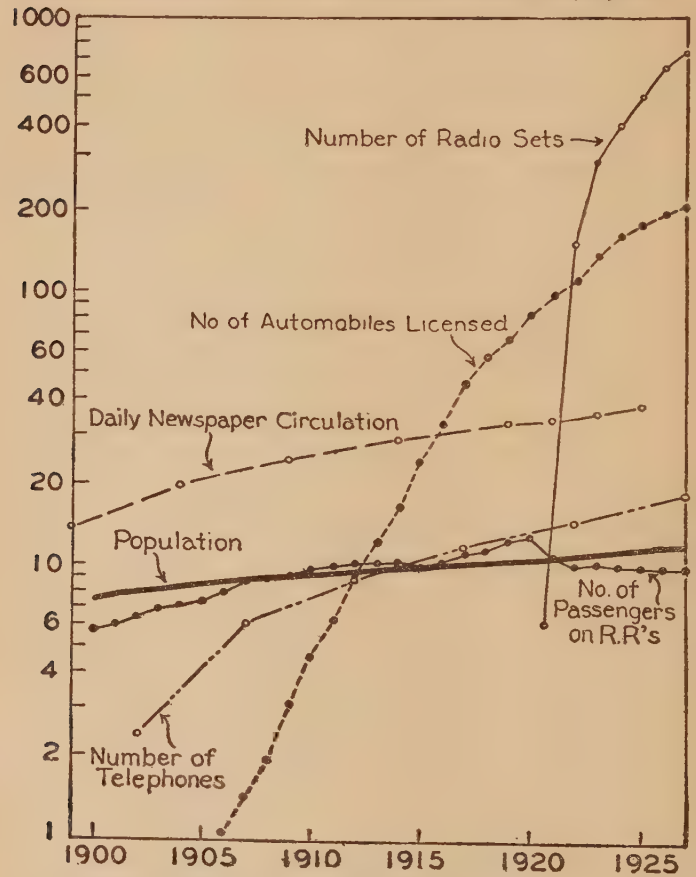
Mobility depends upon both transportation and communication.

Figure 5 shows the greatly increased use of the different agencies of communication in the United States in recent years: daily newspapers, railroads, telephones, automobiles, radio. Compare this increase with the growth in population during the same period. Such development in communication is by no means confined to the cities, but in cities communication is more intense. There are many avenues of approach to the city mind. The church has no monopoly.

The city man lives in a social whirlpool. Stimulation has gone beyond the danger point, both for health and morals. The morning paper shadows the breakfast table of the city man; street traffic endangers his life; mail absorbs his time; the telephone taxes his nerves, salesmen in airplanes shout at him from the

FIGURE 5

RATES OF INCREASE OF DIFFERENT AGENCIES OF COMMUNICATION, OR THEIR USE, IN THE UNITED STATES, 1899-1927 *




* Reproduced by permission from *The American Journal of Sociology,* vol. XXXIV, July, 1928. (See footnote, p. 22.)

sky; the radio disturbs his repose; while the tabloid newspaper, the movies and the automobiles challenge his educational influence over his children.

### SOCIAL ISOLATION

It is evident that neither physical proximity nor the mechanism of communication makes for sympathy or social intercourse. The city man touches elbows with thousands, but hearts with few. The city man lives in isolation within a multitude of contacts. A city—that is where men die of loneliness in a crowd.

The formation of new groupings, based on race, language, culture, vocational interests or moral outlook, tends to separate some people as well as to unite others. This sense of separation is known as social distance and leads to social isolation.

Isolation may be due to physical barriers, to lack of communication, to poverty, to peculiarity of temperament, to lack of education or to failure to conform to the prevailing view of life. It may be due to population changes. An old resident resents the invasion of new people, especially of another race, and isolates himself in consequence. In visiting a New England city the writer was told of women of New England ancestry who so resented the invasion of the city that they had become voluntary prisoners, refusing even to go out upon the streets lest they come in contact with "these foreigners." Another resident may set himself likewise against a suburban inflow.

The same experience results when an individual fails to progress with his own group, owing perhaps to his failure to secure an education. This results in a sense of inferiority and isolation.

The ease with which young people form associations outside of the family circle and in a different set, the ready removal of young people of foreign birth or parentage from the colony in which their parents have lived to quite a new environment, contribute to the isolation of those left out or left behind. It is a curious contradiction that increased mobility due to new means of communication, to changed economic conditions, to educational opportunities, and to new mental attitudes, may contribute to the same end.

An Italian who had attained economic independence, member of a Protestant church and fully in sympathy with American life and ideals, remarked to his pastor, "Yes, my children have each had an education and have all done well. I am proud of them." Then with a sigh—"But there is a great gulf between them and me." This pathos is characteristic of the city influence, particularly the city with a large foreign-speaking population. One foreign-speaking mother of American children remarked that her chickens were all goslings—not her kind.

A new group enters the neighborhood or other province of an established group of different race, religion, or culture. They are deemed guilty of invasion of the rights or prerogatives of the first group. This is

a frequent occurrence in city life, and one cause of the suburban movement, as we shall see later. There is no particular resentment against a group alien in race, religion or culture so long as it remains "in its own place," but old residents feel that their standing or position is affected if such a group moves into a neighborhood which they have come to regard as belonging to themselves. Thus we have racial, religious, and cultural antagonisms created by a sense of self-interest and the desire to maintain social status.

### DEFENSIVE ATTITUDES

Aggressiveness on the part of one person or group is met by a defensive attitude on the part of others. Often city people who have no assured social position are sensitive lest they lose their assumed status, and thereby suffer loss either in their own estimation or in that of their friends. Defensive attitudes lead to emotional repressions. City men are peculiarly subject to such repressions.

The struggle for position sometimes works in the opposite direction. Self-assertion is a characteristic sin of the city man. In the conflict of opinion he feels compelled to defend his own views lest he lose his self-esteem. Being compelled to yield to his superiors in shop, factory, store, and office, he creates or enters a little world however small where his opinions have weight—hence the gang, the club, and the social set. Outside of the area where he is compelled to accept

inferiority, and outside of the area which he has created as the field for his normal self-expression, he takes a defensive attitude, manifested by self-assertion.

### BARRIERS WITHIN GROUPS

People of American family and culture reaching back for generations, who have always lived protected lives and are sheltered by social barriers, do not appreciate that similiar social barriers are being raised within other city groups.

We find, for example, a very wide range of culture among the Negroes. The newer rural migration differs radically from the older. Even the Negro churches show these new groupings. One day a successful Negro pastor, in referring to the great variety of Negro churches and particularly to a group of Jamaica Negroes attending a church in the next block, remarked to the writer, "Yes, it takes a Virginian to reach a Virginian." Mr. Woofter in his studies of the Negroes finds: "There is among them as wide a range of culture, of income, of ambition, of shiftlessness and thrift, as in any racial group."

There is just as great a difference between the new and the older immigrants, particularly among the Jews. Perhaps few races show such marked social stratification. While such divisions within a racial group tend to break down racial solidarity and thereby to counteract racial group consciousness, the prejudice of other

groups and the protective measures and artificial barriers raised by them perpetuate race consciousness.

One may test one's interracial adaptability by some such questions as these: Would I be willing to admit a member of a certain race or group into any one or all of these relations—to close kinship by marriage; as a "chum"; as a neighbor on the same street; as a member of my occupation group; as a citizen of my country; as a visitor to my country.[1]

### SELECTIVE GROUPINGS

City groupings are based as well upon selective associations. In our village of contrast the range of choice is limited, but a city man finds his social life in associations of his own choice, or at any rate he immunizes himself from other associations. Our friend, as one of the twenty-four able-bodied men of the Slovak village, has few divided loyalties. His loyalty is to prescribed home, church and community responsibilities. The city man finds it easy to ignore all responsibility to his community, to live without neighbors, to neglect his church, and sometimes even to live a dual life so far as his family and intimate associates are concerned. "Personal tastes and convenience, vocational and economic interests, infallibly tend to segregate and thus to classify the population of great cities." [2]

[1] See *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXXII, p. 41.
[2] Park and Burgess, *The City*, p. 5.

This separation or segregation may be by areas. It gives a peculiar quality or tone to the different sections of a city: to the bohemian quarters, cosmopolitan in race and culture; to the "gold coast," home of the rich; to the "slums," home of the very poor; to the foreign-language colonies—homes of the Syrian, Italian, Slovak, Russian, and all the rest.

The modern city is a city of cities, walled apart by social, racial, and religious barriers. A wall of brick or stone may be scaled in a moment, cultural walls not in a generation. Cultural distance is greater than spatial distance. Church missionary bodies approach foreign-language areas through kinsmen and the use of the mother tongue because of these geographical segregations and racial barriers. In no other way can they get behind these cultural walls and gain a sympathetic hearing.

### NEW PATCHES ON OLD GARMENTS

Cultural advantages create new groupings and tend to break old sympathies. Dr. Edward Judson, who worked for a generation where "children swarmed and alien races jostled," observed:

> In spite, however, of this strong social trend, the community as a whole does not become more compact and stable. When individual men come closer together into a society, in the very nature of the case they draw away from others, as a new patch shrinks on an old garment, so that the rent is made worse. Society is seamed with crevasses

which only widen as individuals come into closer social contact.[1]

By transportation and communication the city has overcome physical distance. Accessibility has become practically equivalent to proximity, sometimes more desirable, for it permits better control of one's time. But how may social distance be overcome? How, indeed, but in a catholicity of spirit like that described by Edwin Markham?—

> He drew a circle to shut me out—
> Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout.
> But love and I had the wit to win:
> We drew a circle that took him in.

How other than by the method of the early church? Dr. Judson observed:

> It would almost seem as though the church were the only society in which human units can cohere on a common plane—rich and poor, prince and pauper, the learned and the illiterate. All races and nationalities meet together on a common ground, share in the same aspirations, struggles, and hopes. This was the glory and miracle of the primitive church, that at a time when race antipathy compared with ours was as sunlight unto moonlight, the middle wall of partition was broken down, and Jew and Greek shared in the common eucharistic meal.[2]

Unfortunately the modern church has lost much of the catholicity of the primitive church. To regain it

[1] Judson, *The Institutional Church*, p. 18.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

the pastor and the official boards of every city church might well read the *Acts* and the *Epistles* each year, as a practical manual on race and class relations, that human units might indeed cohere on a common plane within a single church.

### THE CITY MIND AND THE INDIVIDUAL

We are not here concerned with the city mind in its varied aspects as an academic study, but rather with its influence upon the city man himself. The city mind is peculiarly likely to act with the crowd and is influenced especially by collective behavior. The city provides a field for every type of agitation, and yellow journals and tabloids serve as media. All this tends to loss of individual responsibility and to confused moral standard. It is easy in the city to adopt an everybody-is-doing-it philosophy of life. In cities collective behavior levels down character as erosion wears away high mountains.

There is a daily rhythm in city life, a tidal movement of the crowds, downtown at morning, homeward at night; moving into the hub at morning and out toward the circumference at night. This routine is as set as the daily round of Pippa, and for multitudes of people with as little chance of change. (Fortunately it is broken for the average city toiler more frequently than for Pippa, for on Sunday and holidays the streets in business areas are strangely silent. The workers of other days are seeking their own way.) But this move-

ment is more than rhythmic. It is an index of the fluidity of the city. Varied associations are the result.

Our friends in the Slovak village of contrast passed their working hours only a little way from their homes. Members of the family or neighbors were their associates. On farm or in village, work in America is closely associated with the home and usually not at a great distance from it; but in the city, particularly the large city, the work day is almost totally divorced from the home day and constitutes quite a different life.

On a normal day or week the city man runs the gamut of social experience. At one hour he is in his family group at breakfast, if he does not leave too early for the family convenience; the next hour he is among entire strangers on trolley, train, or street; the next in his work group; at noontime perhaps lunching in a small group of his own choosing, or feeding with the herd; and then—the scene changes according to age, position, and bent. During hours of leisure, city contacts are at their best or at their worst, and selective judgments operate. One is disposed then to choose his own kind. Leisure is the acid test of character. So the individual lives his day in sections, subject to varied and generally conflicting standards.

"The community to which the city man belongs," says Dr. Spykman, "has become so large that it has ceased to be an immediate experience." [1] Under such

[1] *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. xxxii, p. 48.

conditions an individual tends to sink into anonymity and to cease to feel himself a person.

Moral restraints are seriously weakened when contacts become thus impersonal and conflicting. The best of people are influenced by the opinion of their associates; the worst know no other restraints. In the city we have seen that life is lived away from family, from neighbors, from friends, indeed beyond all intimate relationships, in contact with new standards of conduct. A young person comes therefore to question the position taken by mother, by neighbor, by pastor, and the traditions of kinsfolk. All of this is peculiarly accentuated in the case of the second generation of foreigners, and of Negroes who have moved from a rural environment into crowded city neighborhoods.

The acceptance of the conventionalities of city life tends to substitute good manners for good conduct, courtesy for sympathy, good form for morality. The effect of such personal relations upon moral character is disastrous. It takes strong personality to maintain standards where a man is unknown in the apartment where he sleeps at night; unknown on the train in which he rides in the morning; unknown in shop or office where he works by day; unknown in the streets where he walks at evening.

"We are dependent for moral health upon intimate association with a group of some sort, usually consisting of family, neighbors, and other friends," says Professor Cooley. "It is the interchange of ideas and

feelings with this group, and a constant sense of its opinions, that makes standards of right and wrong seem real to us." [1]

The city mind is preoccupied, in this sense absent-minded; it tends to lose its sense of relationship to humanity, to lose the joy of the common touch, and to cease to find pleasure in homely things. Early one morning, walking down Fifth Avenue, the writer noted a woman dressed in somber colors, her features showing marks of refinement. There was something about her reminiscent of culture, and yet life had evidently been too much for her. Suddenly as she crossed the street she stooped to pick up a single flower that someone had dropped there, and then with a half-humorous, half-apologetic expression, altogether self-conscious, she looked up for understanding to a preoccupied business man who was passing, but he was too absorbed in his own world to notice her—a minor pantomime of city life:

> There are thousands and thousands of human kind
> In this desert of brick and stone,
> But some are deaf and some are blind,
> And she was there alone.

The insistent stimulation of city life tends to produce indifference and inability to make a normal response. The city man lives in a state of insulation. He is as carefully protected from outside contacts as a telephone wire. The city man moves among people but

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXXIII, p. 791.

is unmoved by them. Dr. Peabody of Harvard said in one of his college talks, "Activity without reflection loses its grasp; meditation without action sinks into a dream." The over-stimulation of the city leads the city man into the former dilemma. His interests tend toward superficiality.

Mental and moral attitudes grow out of the conditions under which the city man must work. High-degree specialization results in evaluating a man by what he does, not by what he is, be he servant, tradesman, physician, dentist, minister, or musician. A person becomes a functionary. The result is that productive skill in business becomes dissociated from moral conduct and is deemed of greater value.

In the country a good man is a community asset. In the city the quality of moral goodness is neglected. Seeing this the city man says, "What matter what I am, so long as I have technical or professional value?" Thus moral character is depreciated. When a man becomes merely a functionary his relations are impersonal, and it is easy for his employer to disclaim any responsibility for him as a person. This tends to heartlessness in industry and commerce.

Under modern city conditions one must fight competitors who are unknown and usually impersonal. One is compelled to defend himself against daggers in the dark. The hopelessness of such conflicts develops pessimism, if not fatalism.

"When employment is precarious, thrift and self-

reliance are discouraged. . . . A fatalistic spirit is developed. . . . The business world is equally demoralized by industrial speculation." [1] This lack of confidence on the part of the individual, his sense of inability to cope with situations, creates unrest. Instinctively he resents the order in which he lives and rebels against it.

These same conditions may have the effect of freeing an individual from a sense of personal responsibility. Finding himself unable to change things, he becomes cynical. What's the use? What is it to me? I should worry. If he is a youngster of the newer generation, he confines it to two words—apple sauce. In the very poor this attitude leads to abject reliance on providence and to cessation of individual effort, and is fatalistic in effect. The same situation may result in an attitude of cocksureness and overconfidence.

Prof. Edward Alsworth Ross says: "Close relations to few people, as in the well-knit family, joined to a vivid sense of obligation to the community, seems to be more favorable to stable character than the loose 'touch and go' associations of general intercourse." "It seems to be communion by the fireside," he says, "rather than communion in the public resort that gives individuality long bracing roots." If this philosophy of life be true, how may individuality grow such bracing roots in a hotel room or in a tiny apartment or in a tenement? Again, "It is bad for people to be crowded

[1] Foxwell, *The Claims of God,* quoted by Howe in *The City the Hope of Democracy,* p. 35.

into barrack-like tenement houses, for such massing inspires the cheesemite consciousness, makes the self count for nothing." Under these conditions personality tends to dwarf. It does not have normal opportunity for growth or expression. The man is crushed by the mass. Let the church offer new channels for self-expression and provide a release for driven, beaten, harassed people. This will be the burden of the last chapter of this volume.

A certain sense of individual helplessness drives the city mind to organization, to the creation of new agencies and combinations to cope with complicated situations. Since the city man may not, like the farmer, look over his own crops and estimate his returns for himself, he joins a board of trade; he looks to his broker on the stock exchange; he takes a trade journal; he joins a union; he becomes a member of a trade group; or, to keep up his spirits and to develop his technique, he joins a "booster" organization. He becomes dependent on external groups which he may have chosen or into which he has been forced; often the latter. All of this tends to narrow his outlook and to intensify his opinions on a basis of secondary information. Thereby the individual tends to become impervious to ideas outside of his own group, while within his group he remains a dependent. He even looks to his own specialist or group leadership for pronouncements on politics, on religion, on various topics quite unrelated to the phase of life or occupation with which

the group has normally to do. All this makes approach to him more difficult, and seriously complicates the task of the church.

The increasing margin of leisure growing out of shorter working hours and improved economic conditions generally is giving greater freedom; cheap transportation and the automobile have widened the range of contact far beyond the neighborhood and home. These factors add to the dangers of city life. City boards of education have done wisely in providing lecture courses and night schools, and universities in promoting extension courses as one means of furnishing desirable outlets for this increased leisure.

Moreover, has the city man been fortified by a compensating moral control? Here again it is doubtful if religion, with its tendency to other-worldliness, and the church, with its traditional aloofness, have helped to make available spiritual forces comparable to the material forces released by the discoveries and inventions of a scientific age. What is the church doing to supply a therapeutic for the degenerate diseases of the soul of the city man?

However, it should not be overlooked that while increased wages and shorter hours are now enjoyed by many, great numbers are working long hours in a hard struggle for mere subsistence, and that the grinding routine of factory, shop and office life make increased leisure a human necessity for all city workers. Perforce they must have an outlet outside their occupation.

### THE CITY MIND AND THE FAMILY

The city is peculiarly a young people's town. In the cities generally, there are relatively more young people and fewer older people than in the rural areas or villages. This gives the city energy and the spirit of adventure. A city is more daring and less conservative than a rural community. The disproportionate number of young people in the city as compared with village or countryside is due to the inflow of young people from American farms and villages, and the inflow of young people from Europe and Canada under the liberal immigration policy. We have seen that there is a tendency for young people from the suburbs to gravitate to the city, and that young married couples find living in town cheaper than in the suburbs.

There is another trend, however, which we must keep in mind if we are to face all the facts. It is interesting to observe that the average age of American city dwellers is advancing. There are many contributing causes: the inflow of youth from foreign countries is notably less than it was a few years ago; the birth rate of cities is rapidly decreasing, as we noted in another connection; and preventive medicine has brought and is bringing a larger proportion of the population past the fifty-year mark than ever before in history. These changes will have increasing consequences for the church. They will make its work more difficult, since a higher percentage of the city's population will be

"set" in its mind, on religion as on every other subject. The number of recruits for the church will relatively decrease, since they come predominantly from youth. Let the church fight harder for the rising generation, for it will live longer than the last.

Other attitudes of the young people are important. Drawn to a central area by necessity, for business, and by choice for recreation, young people love "the loop." The outlying sections cannot compete with the central areas for recreation or amusement. Studies made of cities show the tendency of young people to gravitate to the night clubs, to central areas for the cabarets, and to the hotels for dinner and for dancing, thereby encouraging promiscuity in social relations, with its disastrous effects.

The pastor of a church in a depressing downtown community came a moment ago to the writer to say in effect: We cannot hold our young people with our old equipment. They will not use the old gymnasium. They do not even go to local motion picture places, but rather to Broadway and the white light district where there are larger establishments. We cannot win the young boys and girls with such equipment. We must have better facilities. The answer in this particular case is the expenditure of thirty thousand dollars by the church to provide an up-to-date gymnasium and other facilities.

We find pathetic instances of the influence of limited family income and bad environment upon boys and

girls of high school age. The pull of the city upon boys and girls, particularly in the densely populated areas, the desire to have spending money, and too frequently the necessity of augmenting the family income, all turn these boys and girls from school to work, and keep them entirely from high school and college.

The effect of the city mind and environment upon young people from foreign-language homes is especially serious. A group of church workers associated with the author has been giving particular study to this problem. This paragraph summarizes their report:

"The tragedy of broken homes lurks in every dark corner of a tenement building. It is not strange that the bewildered foreigner, as he swings his pick or pushes his flatiron, sadly remarks that the trouble with America is that the children are not subject to their parents. He is, however, helpless to exert even nominal control in his own home, and it is no unusual thing for father and mother to seek the help of the missionary in placing Tony in some corrective institution because he is entirely beyond their influence. Tony is an American but sees America through the eyes of a slum child. Angelina goes to a public school and is taught by American teachers, yet when she goes home she is subjected to a surveillance that amounts to that of a jailor over his prisoner. She sees her American friends develop friendships with members of the other sex, but she is permitted none of these normal contacts and is not even permitted to attend the corner movie

unless father or brothers go. As one girl said, 'If it were not for the mission church, I would be in despair. There and there alone can I find freedom for a moment.' " The number of persons reported to the Lost Persons Bureau of cities like Chicago and New York reflects the tragedy of these broken homes.

Despite such instances, it is disastrous to break with old restraints too soon. When one set of controls weakens before another set is formed, the result is family disorganization, individual demoralization, and frequently acts of crime. This fact must be taken into account when we compare the statistics of crime in American cities of cosmopolitan population with those in foreign cities of more homogeneous population.

The mobility of the city, its flux and flow and multiplicity; the city's offerings to the individual, whether thrill, material gains, or culture; the pull of the central city areas; the selective groupings of the city with its gangs, sets, and groups of every kind, all tend to pull the individual away from the family. We may conclude, then, that city life tends to atomize the family—to break it up into its individual units.

And the family finds it difficult to maintain or to restore its morale under existing housing conditions. A family needs a place where its life may center—a dining table large enough to seat the family and guests, a fireplace or reading table in the living room around which the family may assemble for its social life. If the family is confined within a crowded tenement, in a tiny

apartment, in detached hotel rooms, its life naturally overflows into the street, the restaurant, the movies, the theater, and the night club.

### THE CITY MIND AND THE CHURCH

The church is atomized along with the family. With the breakdown of the home comes the break in the hold of the church upon members of the family. Loss of religious faith is likely to follow. It is not merely loss of allegiance to the particular church as a local institution, but frequently loss of the family faith, whether Jewish, Catholic, or Protestant. After this break a religious appeal can only be made, if at all, through the individual. Once hereditary faith has been surrendered, he serves the kingdom of God who brings such a person into active religious belief and life, and such service should not be stigmatized as proselyting.

The task of the city church is hazardous because the spiritual position of the city man is precarious. Let us repeat: the problem of the city church grows out of the changes in the city man himself. What is demanded of the church is not so much adaptation to communities as adaptation to men. What manner of men does the city present to the church? We shall next consider characteristic city group minds and neighborhood attitudes, and what the city does to certain selected individuals.

# III

## *What the City Does to People*

Is not the ultimate test of a city what it does to people; what it does to them physically, mentally, socially, spiritually? Does the city make physical wellbeing secure? Does it cultivate love of the beautiful, does it broaden human sympathies, does it make for the amenities of life, does it contribute to spiritual freedom? In general, does it cultivate the mind, enrich the heart, and deepen the soul?

The city is stratified spiritually by group attitudes which are conditioned by race, by religion, by occupation, and by social affinity. Environment or place of residence dictates other group attitudes, which find expression in the temper of various localities. We find, for example, the cynicism of the lodging house; the depression and inferiority complex of the rooming house; the spiritual ennui and social indifference of the hotel; the hopelessness of the slums; the complacency of sheltered homes; the aloofness, frequently the arrogance, of secluded estates.

Group attitudes may indeed be over-emphasized. Groups break up into individuals. Individuals transcend environment. "The large metropolitan city," says

Professor Sanderson, "is a mere aggregation of people living together under a city government." [1] There is an element of truth in this statement but it is extreme.

Moreover, it is contended that neighborhoods no longer persist in cities, so great is mobility and so strong the pull of central areas. Witness to the contrary foreign-language neighborhoods at one end of the scale, and high-grade suburban neighborhoods at the other, both of which are able to enforce their will, as, for example, in such matters as the control of vice.

It is true, however, that every individual is disposed to break from the family, from the neighborhood, and even from a chosen group, and to stand out as an individual. We are particularly concerned in this study with the fortunes—the spiritual fortunes—of individuals. We shall therefore think for a few minutes in terms of group attitudes, and then in terms of individual response to city stimuli.

### THE HOBO AND THE CITY MIND

The hobo is a city type. A sort of protest type. He has refused to take on a social mind and has become an extreme individualist, but even at that he seeks his own kind. Robert E. Park says of him: "Why is it that with all the variety of his experiences he still has so many dull days? . . . The hobo is, to be sure, always on the move, but he has no destination, and naturally he never arrives. . . . He has gained his free-

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XVI, p. 85.

dom but he has lost his direction. . . . Restlessness and the impulse to escape from the routine of ordinary life, which in the case of others frequently marks the beginning of some new enterprise, spends itself for him in movements that are expressive merely. . . . The hobo, who begins his career by breaking the local ties that bound him to his family and his neighborhood, has ended by breaking all other associations. He is not only a homeless man, but a man without a cause and without a country." [1]

Charlie T., well known to the author, lived in the worst type of four-room "dumbbell" tenement, with his father and mother and grandmother and seven or eight brothers and sisters. The beds were arranged in double-decker style, in airless, sunless rooms. One winter we noticed the children's faces were blotched, and found this was due to their limited diet. In time the mother died of tuberculosis, then the grandmother, and then one and another of the children. The father was not a drunkard, he was a faithful worker, but he could not carry his load. Charlie came to resent his environment, and the hopelessness of his father's struggle must have impressed him. He took to the highways and became a hobo in sullen protest

### THE HOTEL MIND

In hotels we find almost complete depersonalization, anonymity. In a large hotel a guest is little more than

[1] Park and Burgess, *The City*, pp. 158-159.

a number and a key. There is none of the friendly cordiality of earlier days. The hotel dweller, as Mr. Hayner points out, though physically near the other guests, is socially apart from them.[1] He meets them but does not know them. "Front" is substituted for sympathy, correct form for moral qualities. How may character become strongly rooted under these conditions?

The happy ring of children's voices is not frequently heard in hotel corridors. In a study of two hundred and twenty hotels in Seattle it was found that there were two and a half times as many couples without children as couples with children.

Despite the anonymity of hotel life, perhaps because of it, hotels, and more frequently apartment hotels with or without dining accommodations, are to be found in increasing numbers in every city. They are a ready expression of affluence and the passion for convenience and comfort.

"Yes, we sold our home in Montclair," the writer heard a well-dressed woman remark. "It made too much work, so we moved into an apartment, but next winter we shall go into a hotel." And she added, "Then I will not even have to make my bed."

In a hotel there is plenty of hot water, linen in abundance, the room is warm, there is a comfy "cushy" feel, labor is reduced to a minimum, and besides—what freedom! But physical comfort is one thing; mental and spiritual composure is quite another. "At

[1] *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. XXXIII, p. 784.

home I should have felt relaxed and happy, but I am always restless here unless quite exhausted." This was an intelligent woman's comment on hotel life which she had experienced for a long period.

Mrs. J. is a Southern woman of refinement and strong personality, a widow whose children are grown. Her wealth relieves her from financial concern. Hotel life gives her comfort and complete freedom from household cares. The metropolis has attracted her by its cultural opportunities. A woman of refinement and keen religious interest, she has used her freedom for culture and for service. She has become a valuable worker in her church and on the board of the woman's branch of a denominational city society. City environment has given her its best and has challenged her to her best. The hotel for her has become a means to a worthy end.

### LONELINESS IN FURNISHED ROOMS

Dwellers in furnished rooms are found mainly in "blighted areas." The pathos and the tragedy of this kind of life are vividly portrayed in a study made by Harvey W. Zorbaugh [1] of the furnished-room area of the lower north side of Chicago. In this section there are about twelve hundred rooming and lodging houses, where over twenty-three thousand people live in furnished rooms. Just over one-half were found to be single men, one in ten a single woman, and a few more than one-third were couples, married supposedly,

[1] *Ibid.*, vol. XXXII, pp. 84-85.

though actually sixty per cent of them were living together unmarried. These are dwellings without a child's voice, though most of the lodgers are of the age that should be blessed with children. Economically they belong to the "white collar" group, men and women filling clerical positions, and not a few students.

There is almost complete anonymity among them. Each one lives unknown among thousands. The population turns over on an average of every four months. True of the roomers, this is almost as true of rooming-house keepers themselves. Under these conditions there can be no neighborhood unity. According to the Chicago study, few tenants of furnished rooms vote or accept other public responsibility. They live, these men and women, in a situation of social isolation, destructive to both happiness and morals.

A young woman who is living alone in Chicago confessed to a friend: "When I return to my room at night I have such a sense of the dreadful weight of loneliness that awaits me that I stand before the door reluctant to turn the key." One girl in the written narrative of her life says: "There was no one to care; why should I slave and work when I might have the things I wanted?" "I found myself totally alone," a man relates. "There were evenings when I went out of my way to buy a paper or an article at a drug store just for the sake of talking a few minutes with someone." The constant stimulation of the city begins to tell upon such an individual. "His behavior," says Mr. Zor-

baugh, "may take one of three directions. He may find himself unable to cope with the situation and attempt to withdraw from it. . . . There was a bridge over a lagoon in Lincoln Park in the heart of the north side rooming house district which was nicknamed 'suicide bridge' . . . the city tore it down. . . . Or again the person may build up an ideal or dream world. . . . Or perhaps a substitution is made and the person finds satisfaction for the thwarted wishes in symbols which represent old associations. . . . More frequently . . . old associations and ties are cut, old standards disintegrate." The person may accommodate himself to associations and to conduct on a distinctly lower plane than his own moral standards.

What a challenge to the church, to a church with a sense of the value of an individual. What an opportunity to give individuals a new sense of their own value, to help them into worth while relationships and to bring them to a wise investment of their leisure. Many churches are doing just this, as we shall see.

## SLUMS AT THE TOP [1]

We turn from the crowded ways of the city to the suburban areas in which are found the secluded estates

[1] After visiting a certain suburban community of surpassing beauty and being advised of social and moral conditions existing there, the author asked a well-trained local pastor who has had unusual opportunity to know conditions to write this section. Several members of his church are employed on the large estates, and a chaplaincy brings him in touch with many persons who are not in the church.

and villas of the very rich. In this transition we get one of the sharpest contrasts in metropolitan life. This type of community, as we shall see it lying in the outer suburb, is composed of the village proper, together with the great estates on the outskirts. Liken it to a great circle; within the circumference is the village proper, and without are the great landed estates. Roughly, from eighty to ninety per cent of the village people live within the circle.

The village is encircled by what may be described as a band of steel, so that it is impossible for it to express itself in expansion or growth or to be its real self. This band of steel is formed of great estates in great part remaining unimproved, and varying in size from five to many hundreds of acres. Generations must come and go before these estates can be broken up to any appreciable extent. When this does happen the property is heavily restricted. Development companies cannot buy, prices are prohibitive, or the zoning laws of the incorporated villages created to protect the estate make it impossible. For example:

Mr. A. has an estate of approximately two hundred acres, its selling value being between a million and a million and a quarter dollars. It contains a stately home of forty rooms, the cottage of the superintendent, barns, and other equipment. Its upkeep requires a superintendent, possibly ten laborers to care for the grounds, fifteen house servants and a chauffeur. The

operating cost is at least a hundred thousand dollars a year. Mr. A. dies. His private fortune is divided among his three children, no one of whom is sufficiently wealthy to maintain the above estate. Therefore the property is put up for sale. Millionaires may not be attracted to it for various reasons. Speculators will not buy it because the price is high, and zoning laws may prohibit subdividing it into building plots for homes. Attendant circumstances may force the sale at a bargain price, or even force changes in zoning laws, but such changes come only after long periods of time. Even in the case of sale for building plots the value is so high that a working man or even an average professional man cannot become a purchaser, being unable to meet either the first cost or the upkeep.

The ring of steel is tightened by incorporating a group of estates as a village. These wholly artificial village incorporations are new suburban parasites. Advantage is taken of the old village, its stores, its railroad stations, its streets. Workers employed on the estate as well as tradesmen and contractors live there, but the proprietors pay no taxes in the central village. Wealth thus escapes its just share of governmental expense. Millions of dollars are taken from the assessed valuation of the village. Furthermore, a withdrawal from community life results. These villages cover an area of from three to five square miles each, and each has a voting strength of from seventeen to

seventy voters only. Village A, for instance, has perhaps five square miles and seventeen voters. Such suburban villages become domains for wealth and wealth alone.

The economic life of the central village is profoundly affected by the presence of this great wealth centered in the adjacent villages. The ordinary laborers on the estates must live in the village proper, and must buy their supplies at the very same stores patronized by their wealthy employers. The social life of the community does not escape these influences. Class distinctions are greatly emphasized. There is bitterness, ill-will, and sometimes hostility.

Moreover, moral conditions in many cases are far from the standards of Christian morality. They do not lift the quality of the community, they lower it. The use of liquor in large quantities within the households of the estates themselves does not set an example either for temperance or for law enforcement. Mr. B. has one, two, or even three wine cellars of the world's choicest liquors. The common man knows that in some unexplainable method these cellars seem to remain well stocked, despite the rate of consumption. The big dinners are marked by much drinking. Both Mr. and Mrs. B. often appear before the laborers on their estates in a drunken condition. Mr. B. has even informed his workmen that orders given by Mrs. B. when in such condition are to be disregarded. Liquor is

frequently offered to the transient workmen on the place.

The country residence of Mr. C. had to be closed and the butler was discharged. The butler alone, with the exception of the members of the family, knew the combination that opened the safe-like door into the wine cellar. A few days after his discharge, representatives of a lock firm arrived, and while the locksmith changed the combination, the wine cellar was guarded by two armed guards. The door is of the regular safe type, perhaps three feet wide, of corresponding height and massive. These details become matters of village discussion. Such conditions are no encouragement to law-abiding citizens.

The social exclusiveness of men and women on these estates, and their indifference to the community as a whole, are most serious in effect. With rare exceptions they take no part and apparently have no interest in community affairs. The fact that they are known to have ability and resources which they withhold, creates a barrier to all social progress in the larger community centering in the old village.

These conditions that we have called slums at the top may be only sores in the life of our nation, but they have possibilities of becoming malignant. Christianity, preached and practiscd, plus a true conception of what Americanism is, remains the basic cure for all of them.

### CITIES OF MANY MINDS

The mind of the city as described in the preceding chapter is perhaps more accurately the mind of metropolitan [1] cities, of which there are in the United States about a dozen: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, New Orleans—a much larger number than in any other country of the world. These cities have leaped over and beyond their hinterland. They draw their raw materials from and ship their products to every part of the world. More important, they maintain active trade relations with every part. Great business houses doing a national or international business establish branch offices in these cities. Industry attracts workers from one city to another. Metropolitan cities are the ganglia of the economic life of the nation. So also they are centers of world trade, and to a less degree—far less—of world culture.

Industrial cities are in a class by themselves. Whether large or small, they are much alike. They generally lack racial and cultural homogeneity, and in this respect share the problems of the cosmopolitan cities. They speak many languages, they claim allegiance to many lands, they have inherited old-world faiths. They set up standards of their own making.

Cities that live from their hinterland, cities that are

[1] "Metropolitan" is used by the Federal Census Bureau to apply to cities having a population of at least 200,000. Here metropolitan is used in a more restricted sense.

agricultural in their economic life, are generally more homogeneous in population and far less complex in social structure. Moreover, they are more distinctly American in temper.

The following section describes such a city. The reader will note a close conformity to the typical city mind described in the preceding chapter.

The various means of communication, particularly the metropolitan daily, the popular magazine, the radio, and the movies, are all tending to level the distinctions between American cities.

### THE MIND OF AN AMERICAN CITY [1]

Columbus is a distinctly American city. It has approximately 325,000 population, and about one-tenth of that is Negro. There is little if any foreign element in it, so we do not have the racial antagonisms or the anti-Semitism prevalent in cities like Cleveland or Milwaukee or New York. The city is largely middle-class, with a good fringe of wealth, and emphasis on cultural advantages, due to the universities here as well as to the different musical and art organizations. It is a city made up mostly of country people who have moved here either to educate their youngsters in the university, or to fill state positions. There is some industry, but not so much as one would expect to find in a city of this size.

[1] From a statement prepared for this volume by a pastor of a church in Columbus, Ohio.

That leads me to an observation that what a city does to one's mind is contingent on the industrial situation. It is a striking thing that in this hundred per cent American city we do not raise our community fund, while in a population like that of Cleveland, almost seventy per cent foreign-born, they raise the whole fund. Does the presence of other races, brought about by industrial conditions, and the concomitant social needs make a city more community-minded? Is the American mind more provincial and less responsive to a large need when it is not forced to meet the crises characteristic of an industrial center?

The almost universal impression reported to me by people who have just come to the city, is that the individual is lost in its mass. I find people who cannot fit in because they are so overpowered by the bigness of the situation that they simply throw it all over. I think this is due to the fact that we have emphasized the community and forgotten the neighborhood. I wonder if in our emphasis on the community we have not overlooked those personal contacts embraced in the old-world neighbor. People don't feel as if they were part of a neighborhood.

Another thing I have discovered is the steady and increasing sense of failure to find the springs of pleasure, entertainment, and stimulus within the smaller circle of the home after the family have come from the country. Pleasures become artificial and commercial. Add to this the economic pressure which makes room

space in the home costly, and you have a situation which seriously alters the spirit of the old-fashioned country home.

On the other hand, I find that some people confess that they were made aware of other people in a real way by coming to the city. They have caught the vision of a wider population and have realized their social responsibility. Former country folk have found out how much the city depends upon the country, especially for food supplies, and as city dwellers they have come to realize some new phases of the problem. It makes a difference if you are on the consumption end of the line.

In the city church I have noticed that people from the country rather slowly sense the wider responsibility of that institution to its community. Religious education, newer adaptations of church methods, adequate financing, greater loyalty to missionary agencies, have to be drilled into them. When these things once become real, they make good and loyal members of the city church.

The problem of the city, as I stack up against it, is the problem of how we can in Christ's name maintain friendly human contacts which will make the city a neighborhood in the truest sense, wherein we shall find ourselves in finding our brothers.

### WHAT THE CITY DOES TO THE UNFIT

Let us now turn our attention to the effect of city environment upon individuals. Here we find a problem of the greatest complexity. One is repeatedly amazed by the ability of individuals spiritually to transcend their environment. The lifting power of religion in the modern city is a miracle.

The city is built for the strong. It is seen at its worst in its effect upon the unfit, the physically handicapped, the untrained, the maladjusted, the mentally confused, the morally weak.

Life incentive grows out of freedom of choice, optimism from consciousness of progress. The range of choice may be small and progress may be from a low level, yet personal morale may still be preserved. When this is accomplished we often look upon it as a miracle, especially when it is seen in the homes of the very poor, particularly of the foreign born.

The city affords its weakest groups no choice of living quarters—the worst is their best; no choice in occupation—long hours at monotonous tasks with meager wages under the constant threat of unemployment is their portion. It affords them small choice in amusements, and their inherent limitations deny them cultural advantages which the city assuredly does offer. Instead they demand stimulation and find it in thrills, jazz, and drink. The future of their children hangs over them like a threat, for they know those children

will be frightfully handicapped in the competitive race in which they themselves have lost out. What they do not understand is that their own mental and spiritual attitudes are the worst heritage they can leave. We shall consider what the city has done to two such households.

*The Raphael Family.* There are six boys in this family. The father makes forty dollars a week; he contributes thirty to the support of the family, and drinks up the other ten dollars. To eke out the family income the mother makes artificial flowers. The boys range from sixteen to two years of age. The oldest boy makes no social contacts, works regularly, and has a shut-in type of personality. The other five have every known kind of destructive habit. Two of them should wear glasses, but the mother cannot keep glasses for them, as they break them through constant fighting. On one occasion one of the boys held his mother at the stove until he caused a large burn on her arm. At least five of the six children need both medical and mental treatment, but every attempt to get them into the mental hygiene clinic has failed because the mother has no control over them. Upon the occasions of the father's drinking, the mother takes the children and visits somewhere in the house or sleeps with them in the hall. An attempt was made some years ago to get this woman to make a complaint in the "family card," but she refuses to do so. She is cheerful and well disposed, but too exhausted and weak to restrain her boys

or to influence her husband. Moreover, she does not know to what it is all leading.

*Vincenza.* "I can do nothing with her, she is so wild," the mother complained. Vincenza justified her mother's complaint when the worker called at the home.

There was family history back of all this. The child's mother had belonged to a large family, superior socially to her husband, but her own father had lost his money and she had been compelled to work. In her pride she cut herself off from her old associates. In her disappointment when she was about twenty-eight she married this rough man with uncouth manners. She is constantly embarrassed by this unequal alliance. The child has a superabundance of energy. Had she lived in a rural environment the situation would have been much simpler. She goes to the settlement gymnasium, but when the other children are ready to quit playing, she is at the height of her energy. Educational evenings were arranged for her, but with little success. Finally she was referred to the Big Sisters, who arranged to place her away from home in a country environment. If this child had lived where it was necessary for her to walk two miles a day, to feed the chickens and be engaged in other farm duties, she would probably have presented no behavior problem.

Such families as these are receiving the best medical treatment and are under a mental hygiene specialist. The unfit particularly require constructive aid. A

thoughtful citizen is eager to determine causes and to find remedies.

The individuals referred to in the following paragraphs, though handicapped by an adverse environment, by race, or from being transplanted from other surroundings, have for the most part responded to the Christian influences of the city, and in this are more typical of the city than are the cases just considered.

### WHAT THE CITY DID TO A FATHER AND SON[1]

"What gets your attention gets you." At any rate, this was true in the cases of John's father and of John. John's father is a successful physician in North Carolina and a highly valued citizen. His youth was spent in New York City. I was with him recently on his return after an absence of more than twenty years, when, hurried as the visit was, he found time to attend a religious meeting. His questions about the city were chiefly concerned with the location of religious and cultural institutions which he had frequented while resident there.

He had come to visit his son, who had recently been committed to a hospital for the insane. It had fallen to me, in the interest of his parents, to visit the younger John before his commitment. He had excused himself from conversation with me, explaining that he was overdue at a "gin-mill." John's history, taken at the

[1] From a statement by the Negro director of the Baptist Educational Center in Harlem, New York City.

hospital, showed him to be a regular attendant upon all phases of Harlem's lower life. His associations had been one-sided and entirely in the wrong direction. Under these influences he had lost his balance morally and physically. When he was picked up for insane, he was enthusiastically conducting a prize fight and cabaret in the street.

Had John shown any tendency to associate himself with the better life of his neighborhood? He had. I talked with a woman at whose house he had lodged on first coming to the city from high school. To the knowledge of his landlady he had visited two churches soon after his arrival. I discovered which churches they were. Neither their methods nor their message had appealed to John, whereas the right appeal might have saved him.

### WHAT THE CITY DID TO A STREET WAIF

When H. Roswell Bates, pastor of a church in a congested district of New York, found Daisy Lopez she was just a waif on the street, with a soiled and tattered black dress clinging to her half-starved little form, a black shawl thrown over her head, working in a shirtwaist factory, toiling away for a few dollars a week. We quote from a record of her life: [1]

The dawn of a new day broke across Daisy's life on the 30th of May, 1908. It was a holiday, and the young people of the church and Neighborhood House had been invited to

[1] Harlow, *Life of H. Roswell Bates*, pp. 94-102.

spend the day at the house which Mr. Bates had secured at Rye, on Long Island Sound. Daisy had accepted the invitation with a light in her eyes, and she happily said, "And I'll wear a white dress." The day was one long happy dream for her. She was clean, she wore a pretty white dress, she met young people of her own age, dressed neatly, with joyous faces. She was treated as one of their number, no longer an outcast on the street. . . . Night after night Mr. Bates saw a light in one of those tenement windows. At times that light would burn till two in the morning; always till past midnight. Daisy Lopez lived there. She told Mr. Bates how she spent her day.

At six she rose and cooked her breakfast in the little attic room under the old roof. She prepared a cold lunch and hurried to the factory, where she worked from seven in the morning till six at night. She went home, and after supper left again for night school. After returning from school late, she sat at the old table under the dim light of an oil lamp, working away till after midnight. She was doing this that she might prepare herself for greater efficiency in the service of others, for by that time she had come into the fellowship of the church and had caught its vision. . . .

The winter after Daisy was received into the church, there was organized for the children of the neighborhood an afternoon Sunday school, of which she became an enthusiastic teacher. Daisy still worked at the shirtwaist factory, but she had risen, step by step, till she had become forewoman on her floor. . . . To her there came the love of a noble, pure-hearted man. He had come from Switzerland to study the lace industry in America. They were quietly married . . . Two weeks later the husband sailed away to join his firm in Switzerland, and in the early summer, when the little home would be ready, Daisy was to follow. . . .

It is not necessary here to go over the story of the awful fire, March 25, 1911, which swept in a few minutes through the three upper stories of the Asch Building, where, out of the furnace of flame, girls leaped to death on the pavements below, or fought wildly and vainly to tear open doors which had been locked. . . . Over one hundred girls died as a result of the terrible calamity.

In the hospital where Daisy lay, the screams and moans of other suffering girls filled the air. Daisy was quiet, her lips moving in silent prayer. . . . Her body was a helpless wreck, but she was saying over and over, "My Father, oh, my Heavenly Father." Sweetly and clearly, after her prayer, she repeated, so that the whole ward listened, those beautiful words of the Twenty-third Psalm: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want . . . Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil . . ."

Daisy was putting her things away when the cry of "Fire!" rang through the hall below. She was near the elevator and could have been one of the first to go down, but she was forewoman . . . Back into the room she went, and springing upon a table called to the girls to keep calm, while she struggled over to the fire-escape. There the girls were fighting and in terror. Pushing them back with almost superhuman force, making them go one at a time, she counted forty girls pass her to safety. . . .

No service in honor of beloved dead was ever more impressive nor more filled with the note of victory than that in honor of Daisy.

She had been faithful unto death. She had lived above her environment. That is transcendent living.

The death of these girls was vicarious. It created public sentiment, and state action followed. Social

welfare needs interpretation in terms of persons. Civilization has no other meaning. The Christian social order is no more than a Christian way of life. It must be interpreted in individual and social relationships.

### WHAT THE CITY DID TO THE MIND OF A CHINESE GIRL

Miss L. was born in a home of comfort and refinement in China. As a child she was sheltered and indulged. She grew up feeling that her own pleasure was quite an end in the universe, but withal she had a sunny outlook and social graces.

Something startling happened when she was very young—her father became a Christian. He wanted his wife and daughter to accompany him to America. Parental authority interposed, the authority of the parents of his wife, in accordance with Chinese custom. The father came to America alone and became a Christian worker. For years he worked, alone but successfully, and then he returned to China for his family. The parental authority finally yielded and the mother and daughter came to America with him. The daughter was his companion, almost a pal. She loved to take walks with him and talk and talk. These walks were taken in congested streets, for they lived near the heart of Chinatown. For a block or two as they walked they would be among neighborly Chinese who greeted her father warmly, for he was a real person in the community. Within two or three blocks they would be strangers in an Italian colony—a strange language,

noise, confusion everywhere. Miss L., however, was in a world of her own with her father, quite immune to the environment.

For Miss L. the city was all opportunity. Though she had lived in a depressing neighborhood, her home life had prepared her to receive the best of the city's culture. The city came to be a place of opportunity for her—in school, college, and university, where she was a leader in the Oriental colony, particularly among the educated Chinese. Long years were spent before she had her thesis written and had received a higher academic degree. She then returned for a time to China to her old home village. On coming back to America she took a business position with a Chinese firm, with a salary several times any salary ever received by her father, who was a missionary pastor among his own people. The salary meant better surroundings in a more favored residence area, a Chinese maid, music, friends, and social opportunity. Then suddenly her father was stricken. His death was due to excitement incident to his efforts to bring peace at a conference of warring tongs. Then came the call of the city to his daughter.

The tributes of affection to her father by all classes of Chinese; their sincere witness to what the father as a missionary and as a fellow Chinese had done for them; the demonstration at the funeral—all these disclosed a new world to Miss L. The city, at first an opportunity for culture and a place for pleasure, be-

came an opportunity for service. The daughter has followed the pathway of service along the crowded ways her father trod.

The city produced Miss L. She has found human contacts in missionary service, and the joy of sharing in the transformation of other lives, more alluring than pleasure or business or the pursuit of self-improvement.

### WHAT THE CITY DID TO THE MIND OF A COUNTRY BOY [1]

Childhood in a home on a farm removed from all neighbors, a home suffused with religious devotion; the later teens spent working on the farm summers, and teaching in a district school winters; subsequent years in academy and college; then New York—New York seen from the viewpoint of a theological seminary on the one hand and a community-serving church on the other: this was the experience of one country boy. Personal contacts in the church were now to be interpreted in the light of the social passion, communicated by two seminary professors of social vision who disclosed a new world of economic and social conflict. As a young man he came to see the city in its severer aspects.

Moreover, the city was seen by him in terms of per-

[1] While written objectively, this is a record of the writer's personal experience covering a stretch of thirty years. Its purpose is not alone to show the effect of the city on a country boy, but to show the opportunity for life investment in the work of the church in the city.

sons, a great medley of them: the boy who became a hobo, one of a large family that was practically crushed out of existence by disease caused by poverty; the boy who tried to kill his brother when crazed by excessive cigarette smoking; girls from homes little better than hovels, who appeared at Sunday school each week neatly attired, and who lived on a plane far above their environment; Mr. C., typical rounder and idler; Mrs. S., mother of a large family, who preserved a fine spirit through a long struggle and won the respect of all who knew her. Everywhere the young man saw disease, poverty, wretchedness, unprotected old people, struggling widows with small children, neglected child life, crowded quarters, tuberculosis, open saloons, with their toll of misery. There were other persons, however, resourceful, self-sacrificing, giving themselves in altruistic service with enthusiasm and joy, among them Edward Judson, founder of the church which bears his name, a social and religious pioneer.

The time came when this young man had to be a part of the city. What a thrill! A part of the city! A place of responsibility! A chance to get hold and an obligation to hold on! "There are two conditions of success," Edward Judson told him quaintly, "longevity and good behavior." "To succeed you must keep alive. Time is a solvent." "If we succeed without suffering, it is because others suffered before us; if we suffer without succeeding, it is in order that others may succeed after us."

Then the task of translating dreams into institutions. It is worth while, for institutions live longer than individuals. What a challenge in concrete situations! Economic forces are about to wipe this downtown church out of existence. How may it be saved? For saved it must be. Years of effort—and what joy when it is accomplished.

This foreign-language community has no spiritual leadership. The people have broken with conventional religion. Religion must be reinterpreted in terms of daily life. An understanding leader must be found who can be a guide along the crowded ways. This is the typical sequence: first a lone prophet, then a few faithful adherents, finally a strong church with a radiating Christian influence; the church alive with children; some of these boys and girls later in college; after years of study, they become ministers, teachers, and physicians, taking their places in the world's work —all of them grown from the raw material of this church.

Here is a neighborhood teeming with child life—a challenge to churches to open their doors for church vacation schools, for week-day schools of religion, for every Christian agency designed to promote healthy and normal development in the lives of boys and girls. Here is a new suburban community of beautiful homes. What an opportunity to enlist this wealth of childhood, manhood, and womanhood in the establishment

of a church that shall take its part in bringing in the kingdom of God.

What partners one finds in such service to the diversified city! Business men of high ideals, glad to give themselves to things worth while; physicians ready to contribute to the wellbeing of the underprivileged; women willing to do their share in the work of the world; young people eager for worth-while service; workers of diversified gifts who know how to find unexpected stores of human resources in hidden places; associates in various enterprises, all seeking to equalize opportunity and to open the way to richer, fuller living, in the recognition that the only helpful relationship is mutuality, the exchange of the things of the spirit based on respect for personality.

Yes, the country boy has liked the city because it is filled with people, people, people—some improvident, shiftless, lacking any serious purpose, some hard and grasping; others responsive, resourceful, unselfish, glad to communicate Christian spirit and to share resources. In short, the city has given this boy a social outlook, has heightened his sense of the value of personality, has convinced him of the potency of the grace of God in Christ.

The city has made him venturesome, daring. Like the farm in his boyhood, it has taxed his resourcefulness, for it has presented problems more difficult than chess, more temperamental than golf, more rough-and-tumble than football, more dangerous than automobil-

ing; problems beyond him, yes, a thousand miles, but unceasingly alluring.

### EQUALIZING RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGES

Both group attitudes and individual experiences reflect the startling inequalities of city life. Is it not clear that privileges have not been equalized, that all city children do not have an equal chance at life, that many city lives are hopelessly handicapped, that some are sated while others want, that the city stimulates some to their best while it deadens the sensibilities of others?

Should not the church seek by every practical means to equalize opportunity and to remove barriers to the progress of the individual? This involves social justice, which must be given consideration in any well-coordinated church city plan. (See Chapter V.)

The acquiring of a certain perspective by which the progress of years may be measured is one of the advantages of long residence and work in the same community. It has been the privilege of the writer to note the marked social progress in his own city over a period of thirty years.[1]

There has arisen within the generation a social compunction that is reflected in a thousand ways: in terms of city budgets; in terms of social welfare—the care of defectives, delinquents, and other socially handicapped

[1] Social progress in cities for a longer period is sketched by the author in *The Redemption of the City.*

people, and the care of dependent children and the aged; in terms of a broader program for children crippled in body or mind, for technical and higher education and for adult education; in terms of provision for public recreation through parks, playgrounds, golf courses, and bathing beaches; in terms of safeguarding public health through many measures.

This social compunction has found expression in legislation to secure housing reform, to issue workers' compensation, to fix public liability, and to provide widows' and old-age pensions. It has found expression through individual and associated volunteer effort inaugurated by pioneers of social progress, as in the tuberculosis campaign and in the labors of Nathan Straus and others to protect the city milk supply—"social uplifters" who have pointed the way to progress.

These and scores of other steps toward social justice have been taken within a single city within the period of the writer's own observation. Perhaps the most basic change has been the marked economic improvement which has lifted the standard of living for a large majority of people. Had this not been so, multitudes of workers would have been unable to join the suburban hegira. That social injustice remains, however, this volume witnesses on almost every page.

Is it not the peculiar function of the church to find a way to equalize religious privilege, that the consolations, the incentives, and the restraints of the gospel may be extended to each community and to every in-

dividual, whether in the slums at the bottom or in the slums at the top?

Has not the church quite signally failed in its own distinctive field—in equalizing religious privilege? The underprivileged from an economic and social viewpoint are the underprivileged from the viewpoint of religious opportunity. A study of areas of deterioration in the following chapter will reveal this. The responsibility of the church in this regard is the burden of a succeeding chapter on church city planning, and of the concluding chapter on ministry to individuals.

In the next chapter we shall refer to other inequalities of the city with special reference to their bearing upon the suburban trend.

# IV

# *City Counter-Forces*

Two counter forces are operating in the city. One is centripetal, drawing men toward the city from the ends of the earth; the other is centrifugal, driving people from the center of the city to the outer areas and beyond the city limits. The one makes cities, the other makes suburbs.

To understand the suburban movement one must know something of the expulsive forces back of it, for the suburban movement has resulted quite as much from the expulsive influences of the older areas of the cities as from the attraction of the suburbs themselves.

## EMOTIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CITY

The emotional attitudes of the people are among the expulsive forces of the city.

At times all Chicagoans grow weary of the almost universal ugliness of Chicago, and everyone sags. One feels it in the streets, in the stores, in the homes. The bodies of the people sag, and a cry seems to go up out of a million throats. "We are set down here in this continual noise, dirt and ugliness. Why did you put us down here? There is no rest. We are always being hurried about from place to place, to no end . . . We are tired, tired. What is it

all about? Why did you put us down here, mother of men?[1]

There is quite another Chicago:

On the surface the city seems to be an aimless surging sea. The roar of traffic, the scurrying crowds, the screaming newspaper headlines, and the shouting amusement signs give the impression of chaos adrift, of maddening multitudes rushing they know not where, of no beginning and no end to the turbulence. But beneath the tossing billows are the quiet and serene depths of the sea, and under the froth of a city's noise and bustle lie the unseen but powerful forces of progress. There is the heart of the city, and from that heart comes its life.[2]

We have in the following an emotional portrayal of New York, but in this case by a resident of the city and more sympathetic.

MY CITY[3]

A cruel and brutal city by turns; a callous, money-seeking and unsentimental city, as one looks here and there. But lyric, too. . . .

See, here it is. Miles and miles. You shall not be rid of it in any direction under hours of rapid riding. And the millions and millions tramping to and fro within it! . . .

But each with the power to stir the other—to hate, to love, to longing, to dream, to aches, to death. And all gathered here in this endless pother of dreaming and seeking—seeking, seeking among canyons of stone, beneath tall towers of matter that stand foursquare to all the winds.

[1] Sherwood Anderson, quoted by H. Paul Douglass in *The Suburban Trend.*

[2] *Church Federation Bulletin* of Chicago, February, 1929.

[3] Theodore Dreiser, New York *Herald-Tribune Magazine,* December 23, 1928. By permission.

It is as old and as young as I am. As curious and indifferent. Amid all the stupendous wealth of it a man may die of hunger—a minute atom of a man or child, and so easily fed. And where there is so much wherewith to feed! Or of loneliness—where millions are lonely and seeking heartease, the pressure of a single friendly hand. Ho! One may cry aloud for aid and not be heard; ask for words only and harvest silence only, where yet all is blare. Or be harried by too much contact, and fail of peace, be driven, harried, buried by attention. God!

Tall towers—
Clustered pinnacles—
Varied and fretted flowers of stone and steel
That island the upper air,
That top the fogs and storms.
Erect—
Elate—
Frowning—
Stern—
That shoulder in toothy canyons;
That march in serried ranks.
Dreams—
Ambitions—
Illusions—
Moods.
An architect has uttered a building;
A poet a tower . . .

Tall towers that ants have builded;
That mite and midge have reared.
Clustered pinnacles—
That prow and pierce the windy sky,
That ark a horde of trudging ants,
That roof a world of burrowing moles. . . .

Tall towers—
Clustered pinnacles—
Defiant spears of steel and stone.
Aye, but the inevitable winds that rag your strength!
Aye, but the inevitable cold that bites and eats! . . .

There is ground for such emotional attitudes toward the city. The city man wanted something big and he has got it. Buildings big in bulk and height. Streets long and congested. Apartments multiple and crowded. Operations varied and costly. Municipal functions complicated and confused. Taxes high and mounting. Population large and cosmopolitan. Sixty-six languages. Faiths varied and conflicting. The city man is compelled to ask: What of the relation of all of this to human life? What of the cost of living? What of density and health? What of congestion and morals?

He finds that the crowded ways present sharp, bloody angles; he finds ugly facts; he sees depressing neighborhoods, and he finds multitudes of sick and unhappy people. A child in a settlement house caught a glimpse of the Woolworth Building, sometimes called "the cathedral of business." Seeing its windows aflame with the glory of the setting sun, the child exclaimed, "Is that where God lives?" Is the city where God lives?

### COST IN LIVES

"And the millions and millions tramping to and fro within it" congest the central city areas, threatening life itself.

Concentration of population has already begun to recoil upon itself. There is a backward thrust to it. Free circulation of the people through the city streets has become impossible. The control of traffic has become a major police problem. Failure to solve it is becoming tremendously costly in terms of dollars and more costly in terms of life. City congestion means death, a steady toll day after day, month after month, year after year, children and adults, and in its wake come hardship and sorrow.

The average city dweller has unfortunately not been startled by such facts, but he has been impressed by the delays, the inconvenience, and often the indignities of local travel. More than that, the average worker in a large city must give the "children's hour," perhaps the family breakfast hour, and his own recreation and culture hour, to travel. As a missionary executive the writer is compelled to travel within the city from two to four hours per day. If one thinks that this is a problem of the large city alone, let him approach the "four corners" in a smaller city, where indeed there is less excuse for concentration.

While the general death rate and the infant death rate have decreased notably in cities in recent years, and improvement in public health has indeed been one of the notable achievements of municipal government, yet there is too great a variation in the death rates of cities to inspire confidence in administrative efficiency. In Cleveland less than ten persons (9.64%) of each

group of one thousand die each year, but in New Orleans more than eighteen (18.04%). The infant death rate ranges from 49.04 per thousand births in St. Paul to 88.12 in New Orleans. Differences in age and race would hardly account for the wide variation.[1]

We derive the impression that there is failure in many cities to follow scientific methods; that some city fathers need lessons in public health; and that many children are still denied opportunities for life and health through sheer neglect. We are compelled to recognize that congestion of population on the one hand, and city administration on the other, are immediately reflected in the wellbeing of the people, and even in their ability to keep alive.

Anyone not familiar with conditions is surprised to find existing a close relationship between congestion and the death of infants, and a similar relationship between congestion and tuberculosis. In short, as the number of persons who live on a given area of ground increases, both the percentage of those who die from tuberculosis and the percentage of infants who die before their first birthday increase. The social consequences are all too evident. Families forced by poverty to live under these conditions cannot be blamed for the results. Certainly they cannot be blamed for retreating from such districts when a home can be secured in the suburbs.[2]

[1] See Appendix, Table 1.
[2] See Appendix, Table 6.

COST IN LIVING CONDITIONS

One discovers another deadly parallel. Increased density of population is at once registered in an increased number of illegitimate births. It thus appears that bad living conditions are reflected in immorality. High rents mean boarders; in a great city working hours spread through the whole day and night; some boarders work by night while the husband works by day and the housewife remains at home, or mothers are out working during the day while children and young daughters are left at home.

Unfortunately the story does not end here, as one who is interested in boys soon discovers. What happens to the children when the parents are out working and the home is broken up by the presence of boarders? What use to a boy is a father who is never at home? The boy is driven out of doors. The chances are that there is no playground in his neighborhood. Even if there is, if he is a Negro boy or even a Jew or a Japanese he waits a long time before venturing to go near it. Such environmental conditions are immediately reflected in juvenile delinquency. "A notorious criminal who has two murders to his record was once a boy in our Sunday school," a pastor in Chicago reports. "He didn't appear unlike other boys in those days, but the church at the time had no gymnasium, no boys' worker or athletic director, and this boy slipped through our fingers. Thank God we have a building now well

adapted to look after the needs of just such boys." From the same city comes the report of the establishment by the Union League Foundation of a third club for boys. More than forty-two hundred boys are enrolled in the two clubs, the first of which was opened in 1920.

These and other factors growing out of congested living in the city place a heavy burden, physical and moral, upon the homes of those compelled to live under these conditions. One is not surprised to find that families of every racial group that has lived in such areas have contributed to the suburban trend. They have yielded to the expulsive influences of the city.

The expulsive influences of the city operate particularly within the areas of deterioration found in every city of any considerable size, and containing in many cities a large percentage of the population.

### AREAS OF DETERIORATION

These areas in all the large cities are very much alike. Here is a kind of universal description of them:

> Outside the inner city, once the four corners but now the retail and hotel district, are the slums, the dwelling places of the casuals. On the edge of the slums there are likely to be regions already in process of being submerged, characterized as the "rooming-house areas," the dwelling places of bohemians, transient adventurers of all sorts, and the unsettled young folk of both sexes.[1]

[1] *American Journal of Sociology,* vol. XXXII, p. 8.

Take a more specialized situation. A district on the lower North Side of Chicago gives evidence of extreme physical deterioration. Colonies of lately-come foreigners have penetrated inward from the river and have pushed the former occupants farther north, while retail business has furrowed through the wealthy section and created a transitional zone between it and the slum, a zone occupied by all varieties of transient and unrooted people—here, homeless men from the ranks of casual labor, and there, white-collar workers occupying furnished rooms and lodging houses.

This district in Detroit is characteristic of areas crowded by newly-arrived foreigners. "Various races, Greek, Syrian, Rumanian, Mexican, and West Indian Negro. Only 14 per cent of the population is native whites. Two-thirds of the population are male. There are sixty-one roomers to every thirty-nine families. The tenement type of habitation is strongly prevalent, and home ownership stands almost at zero." [1] In another section of Detroit, composed of boarding houses and furnished room houses occupied by young Americans who are living away from home, "native whites constitute two-thirds of the population. But there is a twenty per cent excess of male over female population, and there are fifty-five roomers to every forty-five families." [1]

Other areas are in a still worse state of deterioration.

[1] Douglass, *The Church in the Changing City*, pp. 158-59.

There are often neighborhoods in which the dregs of the population of all races and colors settle. The shiftless, vicious, ignorant ne'er-do-wells move in and out, dodging rent days, spending irregular earnings on sensuous pleasures. Houses are old and worn, owners or agents are neglectful, city officials are indifferent, social workers have no means of making changes, and police activities are confined to raids or searches for criminals. The districts are notorious for indolence, vice, crime, disease and poverty. They are out of sight of the average citizen, and are visited only by instalment and rent collectors, insurance agents, truant officers, an occasional sanitary inspector, and social workers.[1]

Extreme physical deterioration characterizes many of these areas—the buildings are unfit for human habitation. Smaller cities are not exempt. The writer has visited houses in Yonkers that are quite as bad as the old "dumbbell" tenements of New York City. The worst of it is that these old buildings linger for several generations after new standards are adopted. A surprisingly high percentage of the tenement house population of New York City, for example, lives in the type of tenement that was outlawed nearly thirty years ago.

### FAMILIES IN AREAS OF DETERIORATION

The repeated and continuous effort of families to improve their situation by moving from such districts into a better neighborhood illustrates the expulsive

[1] Woofter, *Negro Problems in Cities*, p. 101.

force of the central city areas. Take the case of St. Louis:

> Along the axes of the outward movement of American population, every added mile shows demonstrable and measurable gain in pleasantness of surroundings, safety and health, and moral protection.
>
> The effect of such environment may actually be measured. For example, on four decisive criteria of social health, the case rate of the least desirable district exceeds that of the best in the following ratios: infant mortality, four times as frequent; deaths from tuberculosis, eight times as frequent; juvenile delinquency, twelve times as frequent; illiteracy, twenty-two times as frequent. They have almost twice as many families per dwelling, and home ownership is only one-thirteenth as frequent.[1]

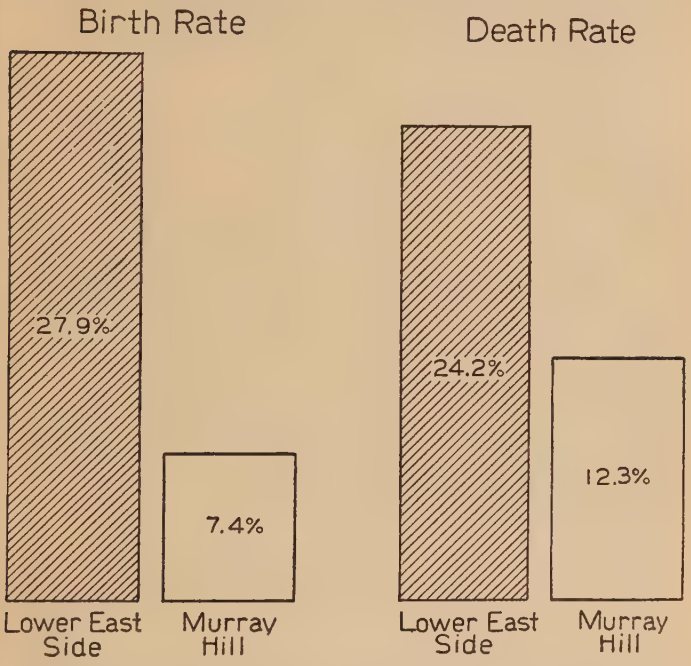
In other words, as compared with the children in more favored areas, children in these unfortunate areas have four times greater tendency to die in infancy, eight times greater danger of acquiring tuberculosis, twelve times greater danger of becoming juvenile delinquents, twenty-two times greater liability of being illiterate, and a family has only one-thirteenth as good a chance of owning a home.[2]

Is not the following statement by Dr. Douglass one of the most severe indictments which can be made against American civilization when it is recalled that St. Louis is quite typical of other cities? "This means that the best American civilization can do in one of

[1] Douglass, *The St. Louis Church Survey*, p. 48.
[2] See Figures 6 and 7, pp. 99 and 100.

FIGURE 6

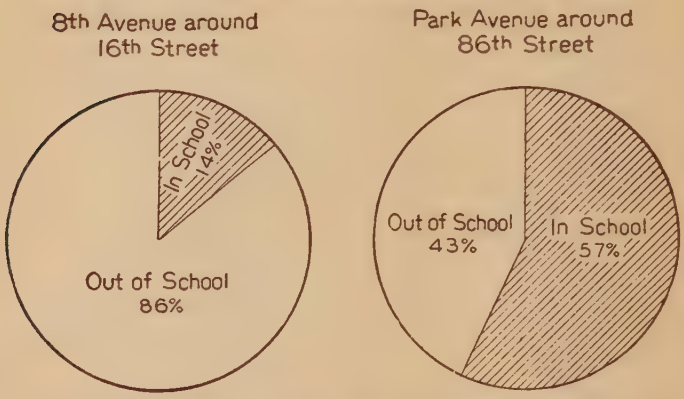
COMPARISON OF BIRTH AND DEATH RATE IN A FAVORED AND IN AN UNFAVORED DISTRICT IN NEW YORK CITY *




* Compiled from statistics gathered by the Bellevue-Yorkville Health Demonstration, New York City.

FIGURE 7

FAVORED AND UNFAVORED YOUNG PEOPLE BETWEEN THE AGES OF 15 AND 19 IN TWO DISTRICTS OF NEW YORK CITY *




*From Statistical Sources for Demographic Studies of Greater New York, 1920, published by the New York City 1920 Census Committee Incorporated.

the greatest and foremost of its cities is to leave more than one-half of the people living on a distinctly lower level of advantage than their fellows, and more than one-third of the people under conditions which constitute a definite physical and moral handicap." [1]

### SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN SUCH AREAS

A recent study has been made of commercialized amusements of the socially harmful type and of organized vice in cities North and South by an experienced investigator working under a responsible agency.[2] We quote snatches only, but all are true to the context.

"Poor sanitary facilities, dance hall dirty . . . turning out lights, except the spotlight, in order that all the people may have a good time." "A large hall in Philadelphia was found to be frequented by young Negro prostitutes who danced chiefly with foreigners." "A third hall was the scene of much drinking, fighting, and sensual dancing." ". . . the dancing of sixty per cent of the couples was obviously based on erotic thrill." "An election night dance was quite spirited—many minors were present when the dance closed at two in the morning." A Chinese restaurant of questionable character features a dance hall. "The crowd, which was predominantly colored, contained at least half a dozen white girls and about the same number of white

[1] Douglass, *The St. Louis Church Survey*, p. 48.

[2] Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., working under the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

men." "A tough cabaret is probably tougher than a tough dance hall." "Unsupervised cabarets are sluiceways through which vice pours into a community."

Pool rooms are another source of pollution. "Among some patrons of pool rooms gambling is the rule rather than the exception. In only three of the eleven rooms in Richmond did there seem to be any effort to suppress gambling." "Gambling in a number of rooms in Philadelphia is not suppressed. The investigator was asked to hold stakes for one of the group. The social investigator in Buffalo traced much of the poverty among Negroes to games of chance, and indicated that two of the rooms are operated by Negroes with political power." "Two of the pool rooms visited in New Orleans were clean and well regulated. The remaining eighteen were dives of the lowest type." "Of approximately one hundred and fifty pool rooms visited, less than twenty per cent are owned by Negroes. Often these are the best in the town . . . the Negro owner is in close touch with the community and responsive to pressure." [1]

What a challenge to the church! How greatly such communities need churches with open doors, Christian centers, church centers, community centers to accommodate the social life of young people—organized recreation and the use of social rooms, without supervision other than a responsible chaperon, where young people may congregate. Does not the pregnant phrase

[1] Woofter, *Negro Problems in Cities*, pp. 271-281.

"infected environment," borrowed from the medical profession, tell the story of the effect of such environment on character?

### RACE DISCORD

One of the strongest expulsive forces of the city is race discord. It drives families and individuals from central city areas, and is one of the principal factors in the suburban trend.

Race prejudice is as old as history, but has been aggravated by conditions peculiar to American cities with their amazing mixture of races. Race prejudice is accentuated in America by the refusal of everyone to accept existing status. Racial groups which feel the upward surge, when impeded by race prejudice or otherwise, become aggressive. Other people resent their aggressiveness, and the prejudice is fanned to a flame. Race prejudice in cities is aggravated by the shifting of racial groups to new areas, resulting in displacement of groups already on the ground. This is true of every group that tends to colonize, the Italians, for example, but notably true of the Negroes and the Jews.

Although Negroes are shifting in larger numbers to Southern cities than to Northern, the movement in the North causes more irritation, for in the South the Negroes go into areas already occupied by their own race, whereas in the North they penetrate areas oc-

cupied by whites, resulting in displacement of the latter.

The enormous volume of southeastern European immigration from 1900 until the recent immigration laws went into effect resulted in a great increase in the number of Jews. True to type, the Jew in America is a city man and reflects the virtues and vices of the city type. It is a curious fact that the self-conscious aggressiveness which is often attributed to the Jew is being rapidly acquired in the city by the Gentile. It would appear therefore that this characteristic is not so much a matter of race as of environment.

The economic progress made within the decade by the Jews living in American cities is both a witness of improved economic conditions, and an illustration of the freedom allowed to the individual. The Jews have had their first opportunity to rise above the social and economic conditions which have bound them for generations. Nevertheless the condition tends to accentuate race prejudice. On the one hand it stimulates the aggressive attitude, and on the other it stiffens the attitude of resistance.

Population changes in a city as a whole are of less concern to the average person than changes within a particular area where his home is located or where his friends live. When a householder sees one family after another on his block displaced by other families, particularly if newcomers center their religious and social life within their own group, he is resentful. En-

tire communities are passing through these changes, which affect business relations, break up congenial groups, and displace churches and other institutions. The ugly fact of race prejudice constitutes one of the most severe indictments of the modern city. The fact is used here to illustrate the expulsive influence of race prejudice and the part it plays in the suburban trend.

Thus we see the many expulsive influences in the city that are back of the suburban movement. Pressed by all these conditions a family can hardly be blamed for seeking more congenial surroundings, though it involves laying down old responsibilities. What may become of the older areas after the withdrawal of so many of the more resourceful residents will be considered in the following chapter. We shall now consider the part played by the suburban trend as a way out.

### THE SUBURBAN TREND

The suburban trend is born of "the will to live." It is an assertion of the right to live in accord with improved city standards. Its motive is keenly individualistic—"for me and my wife and my son John." It is an impulsive mass movement, comparable to the other great American mass movements—the pioneer movement, the city trend, and the immigration movement.

More people live in the suburbs of our cities today than lived in the whole United States one hundred

years ago. One gets an inadequate impression of the volume of the suburban flow by taking a national percentage, for suburban population is segregated. More than one-half of it is directly related to the metropolitan cities, cities of 200,000 and over. But suburban growth is not confined to the larger metropolitan areas. The spill-over into suburbs of sixty-eight cities of the 100,000 class is equal to one-third of the population of these cities, but the spill-over covers ten times as much ground as the former areas of these cities. Suburbanites have wanted elbow room and breathing space, and have taken it. Suburban growth accentuates city growth and is regional. Sixty-three out of every hundred people in the Middle Atlantic States live in cities of 100,000 or more or in their suburbs.[1]

It is interesting to note where suburbs are to be found in largest numbers. New York City has one hundred and twenty-nine suburbs. Pittsburgh stands next with seventy-one, then comes Chicago with sixty-seven. An official of the Long Island Railroad recently declared that that road gains three thousand new commuters per month. This means a gain of suburban population within one limited area which would be the equivalent of a new village of eight or nine thousand people each month.

Virtually one-third of all cities in the United States from 25,000 to 100,000 in population are themselves suburbs, which brings home the fact that the suburban

[1] Douglass, *The Suburban Trend*, p. 65.

trend has not only created a problem in itself but has intensified the city problem as a whole. Moreover, the suburbs are growing more rapidly than the central cities to which they are attached, the suburban rate being 29.1%, the central city rate 25.5% (1920).[1]

There appears to be no limit to the suburban pull. Suburban area tends to reach out beyond the area recognized as suburban by the Federal Census. For example, "The Plan of New York City and Its Environs" recognizes the area stretching out for forty miles from City Hall as the metropolitan or suburban area, while the Federal Census has thought in terms of an arbitrary ten-mile limit. In this suburban area beyond the ten-mile limit there are nearly a million people. The next Federal Census, it is understood, will accept the forty-mile radius, itself a significant fact and an indication of what will take place in other cities.

Some adventurous spirits with resource and a considerable margin of time have lived for years in the outlying areas of large cities. It was not, however, until well after the World War that the suburban trend became one of the great population mass movements, comparable in volume and significance to the frontier movement, which for two centuries was a dominant factor in American life; comparable also to the city trend, which assumed national significance after the Civil War, and to the immigration movement,

[1] *Ibid.*, Appendix I.

which came to full force a little later and was at its height from the turn of the century until the World War. It is strikingly significant that each of these mass movements except the frontier movement has seriously complicated the city problem and added immeasurably to the perplexity of the city church. None of them compares with the suburban trend in the suddenness of its emergence. "During the decade," says Dr. Paul Douglass, "the dam has broken and the population has overflowed," with the result that now from 15,000,000 to 18,000,000 of people live in the suburbs of American cities.

### EFFECT OF IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION

The suburban movement was compelled to await improved transportation. When the author took up residence in New York City as a student thirty years ago, horse cars were in many streets, steam cars were on the elevated railroads, and cable cars were in the main avenues. There was no electric power on street cars, elevated roads or railroads, there were no subway trains, no buses or stages excepting on Fifth Avenue, and no autos except an occasional curiosity parked by the roadside for repairs. The situation was the same in every other city. First the trolley came into its own; then came electric power on the elevated lines; then the subway; then the extended use of the automobile; then the electric suburban service; more recently the buses have begun to replace the trolleys, and to supplant the

railroads in short hauls and to compete with them in longer traffic.

Transportation made availability successful in her fight over proximity. The barrier of distance is measurably overcome. Today the suburbs in many cities are nearer to the center in point of time and certainly in point of effort, than the mid-district area was near to the center ten years ago.

The growth of suburbs is limited by accessibility. Accessibility is determined not only by distance and by transportation but by work schedule and by cost. Those who arrive at their offices at nine-thirty or ten and are free to leave at four-thirty or even at four, have a wide range of choice. Office workers who work from nine to five can ill afford to live more than one hour from their work, while the great army who work from eight to six or seven must live close at hand. Shorter hours, especially for skilled workers, is a big factor in suburban accessibility.

### WHY SUBURBS GROW

Suburbs are an expression of a new faith that one may work in town and yet live comfortably. Suburbanites are optimistic, courageous, venturesome. The city man soliloquizes, "Behold, now I will build me a city. It shall be to my liking, and be built up of my own kind of people. So far as these old haunts go, I shall fold my tent like the Arab and as silently steal away."

Suburbs are based on a new group selection, a desire to live with people of one's own kind or choice. They have been called city fragments arranged by design. We may say that the suburbs are centrifugal fragments, broken off by the centrifugal forces which have driven population outward. Suburbs as a whole attract the more resourceful of all racial groups. Yet an individual suburb shows racial and class discrimination. Church and social workers have noted the tendency of the young people of foreign-language families to secure homes in suburban areas and to transplant their parents.

Referring to the effect of the suburban movement on community organization in lower New York, Professor Leroy Bowman says:

> University organizers maintain that the successful of all nationalities are moving out of the neighborhoods. Usually it is the young folks who have made some money, can pay on a house, and who, with the help of the other money-earning children, can take the old folks and keep up the payments. They move for one main cause—to get better housing and to live in better neighborhoods. It is a real movement, a general exodus, and has taken on large proportions in the last three years. Families that have been rooted for thirty years are moving from every one of these districts.[1]

The more prosperous Negroes have shared this exodus. The healthy out movement from undesirable quarters is reported in Philadelphia. In Memphis over five thousand Negroes have moved into outlying areas

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. xxxii, p. 136.

within fifteen years. In Chicago Negroes are moving outward. Negro communities are springing up on Long Island.

While individual suburbs show marked class segregation, statistics for suburbs as a whole reveal the presence of a very large number of wage earners, using that term as the Federal Census uses it to distinguish industrial wage earners from proprietors, salaried officers and clerks on the one hand, and agricultural population on the other. Industrial suburbs of course contain large numbers of wage earners; so also do the mixed suburbs, suburban mill towns, village suburbs, and small scattered suburban developments around cities large and small. Where there are great estates, as on Long Island, a considerable proportion of the central village populations serve the few people who live on these estate areas.[1]

Nearly all suburbs show selection enforced by standardized building and a narrow price range. Many reflect race discrimination. Many suburbs also show occupational selection.

### SUBURBAN DISADVANTAGES

A typical suburb lacks a natural center such as may be found in a village or small city. The community life suffers thereby. The suburb lacks a related area or hinterland. It has no outlying territory to which it is immediately related. It has no industries. It

[1] See Douglass, *The Suburban Trend*, p. 121.

consumes, but does not produce. It lacks unifying local agencies. Few suburbs have good local papers. The majority must look outside for their art galleries, their theaters, their museums, and generally for their libraries.

Suburbs are limited not only in their community interests and outreach, but in their age groupings. They "evict the socially fit," Dr. Paul Douglass says, because the young people of suburban families cannot afford suburban homes when they marry. Moreover, young people finding their major social interests in the city, where there are greater recreational advantages, tend to gravitate to the city's center. In effect the suburbs discriminate against old people who often find the rigors of suburban travel too severe for them. The doors of the suburbs are closed against families in adversity, because such families can no longer afford their advantages and prefer to conceal themselves within the anonymity of the city. Living in these suburbs is too expensive for men of small income; housing is more costly; taxes are higher; opportunities for employment are more limited; transportation costs must be figured; and hours consumed in travel must be taken into account.

Perhaps the greatest social deficiency of the suburb is its tendency to segregate the like-minded and to emphasize social advantages, breaking the flow of sympathy and the spread of understanding which should permeate the common city life. Misery long

out of sight drops out of mind. The suburbanite is not brought into contact with the backward, the handicapped, and the unfortunate of the larger city, victims in many cases of the social progress from which he himself has profited. He shields his children from even the knowledge of poverty and misery. When, like Rasselas, they emerge from the "happy valley" of their youth, they are unprepared for the world of reality. The loss is not so much in service denied others, as in limited social vision denied themselves.

Is it not through the understanding of social conditions that social wrongs shall be redressed? In the suburbs the sympathies flow more freely than in the city, but their course is more restricted. The growing tendency to isolate the suburban church, making it merely a community institution, accentuates this unfortunate segregation. The church may do much to cultivate a community of understanding between the suburb and the older areas.

While the suburbs in many respects are favorable to home life, the absence of the husband and father through the day and his late evening arrival, means a severe loss to him and to the family. Had Longfellow been a commuter he might not have written:

> Between the dark and the daylight
> When the night is beginning to lower,
> Comes a pause in the day's occupations,
> That is known as the Children's Hour.

A father who is a commuter is a stranger to his own children. He knows no children's hour. Frequent business conferences and out-of-town trips further complicate the family relations. A mother of the writer's acquaintance referred to the absence of her husband on a trip to a distant city, whereupon the small son remarked, "Oh, I wouldn't know father was away except that he doesn't come down to breakfast."

Two little friends of the author who live in East Orange, New Jersey, were playing house with other children. Mother and children took their places in the household economy of the children's play world, but no father. "Why have you no father in your house?" their mother asked. "We don't want any father." "Why don't you want a father?" "Fathers make us cry. They always go away." This is a parable of suburban home life.

### SUBURBAN ADVANTAGES

On the other hand, the suburbs have distinct advantages. They cultivate a sense of neighborliness, the club atmosphere. During twenty years of residence in the greater city, the writer learned to expect nothing more than outward courtesy, and probably himself accorded little in real neighborliness; but in later residence in a suburban area he has learned to borrow a neighbor's wheelbarrow, to own a ladder in partnership with another neighbor, to welcome a neighbor's solicitude for his rose bushes, to keep the back

yard path open, and to come generally into a sense of neighborliness.

The station platform is a kind of social center for the suburb. The suburban train takes the place of the country stage for an exchange of fellowship, and as an opportunity for conference. Train occupations become an interesting study: men at daily papers; stenographers with the latest novel; a group at bridge; students preparing their lessons; individualists making notes for the day on their newspapers; devotees of the crossword puzzle busily engaged; the exceptional man at his daily reading or devotions; dreamers following the landscape; and, not least absorbing, young people courting, but with more decorum than in the petting parties in public places downtown where "nobody knows us." The suburban train is a community institution. No suburbanite can live in complete anonymity. He is always known to some degree, and cannot entirely escape community responsibility. This is reflected in the lower percentage of members lost from suburban churches as compared with city churches.

There are travel attitudes peculiar to the suburbs. There is distinct contrast in atmosphere between the morning train with its stimulus, and the evening train with its relaxation. One notes the striking contrast between the contented spirit of the comfortable suburbanite, and the restless, distraught spirit of the city straphanger.

Among suburban advantages are quiet, fresh air, less disturbed family life, more favorable conditions for health, poise, and sense of well-being. The average salaried man of the upper middle class can preserve his social status, his standard of living, and the æsthetic and cultural values more easily in the suburbs than in the city.

The suburbanite has not altogether lost the common touch. He has preserved or restored that use of his hands which his city cousins have lost. It is true that he derives little more than æsthetic satisfaction from his garden, but at any rate he is not altogether removed from the soil. There is a loss in having one's life refined until it no longer touches common human experiences. It was well that Watt did not live too far from the kitchen, since it was in watching a boiling teakettle that he found the principle of the modern steam engine. It was well that Lilienthal, some fifty years ago, was able to see clothes on the line, for in watching the line he discovered "that tablecloths and sheets and other normally flat pieces lifted in a strong breeze above the horizontal position which it would be natural to suppose they would assume when borne out by the wind." According to Lindbergh, Lilienthal's patient observation of such things as washings on the line and the wings of birds was the beginning of the airplane.

Among the advantages of the suburb is the leadership of its women. In the suburbs it is more marked

than the leadership of men, owing partly to women's greater leisure, but also to the dominating influence of the home. The school is the preëminent suburban interest outside of the home—church and club command secondary interest. Women are on the way to becoming political leaders of the suburbs. They have an open field in which to make their social ideals effective in political life.

The average suburbanite may go to the suburbs for his children's sake, but he certainly does not go there to rear large families. While the suburban family has more children than the family of the same class in the older city, it has fewer children than the rural family, and a smaller number than the average family in the congested quarters of cities. But suburbs differ radically. A friend of the writer who lives in a suburb of moderately priced homes where everyone is said to have a second mortgage and no one a servant, remarked, "It takes a traffic cop to keep the baby carriages moving on a sunny afternoon."

Children reared in suburbs have many advantages which the city child is denied—sunlight and quiet, flowers and birds, and freedom for play. The suburban home holds its children and young people to a later age than the average farm, village, or small city home. College and professional school and business opportunities are quite generally within reach.

"Childhood is a brief moment of morning," Angelo Patri says. "For the richness of that morning the

child is dependent upon you, dependent upon your love, your wisdom, and your faith." The average child has a brighter morning in a suburb than in the city. Perhaps that is argument enough for the suburb.

### THE SUBURBAN MIND

There is frequently a social cleavage between the surburbanite known as a commuter and the older residents. The older resident regards the commuter with suspicion until he has proved his worth. The commuter usually wins out, perhaps because of his larger income, his contact with bigger enterprises, his social activities, and his generally more aggressive attitude toward life.

The suburban man is less fatalistic than the city man. He is not crushed by a sense of the mass of the city. He lives in a community which he is able measurably to comprehend, and of which he feels himself a part. Often, however, he is deficient in civic pride and fails to identify himself with a civic group. Too often he is a man without a country. "He has," as Dr. Douglass points out, "a bifocal outlook." He sees with one vision his local community, and with another the distant city. To change the figure, he leads a fractional existence. He does not belong anywhere. In part he is a dweller in the suburbs. In part he is a worker in the city. All of his interests are partial. He is likely to have two sets of friends. He lives in segments.

Moreover, he is a different being in the different segments. Downtown he is intense and "peppy," exacting, managerial, constructive, creative, an assertive personality except at his club at lunch. At home he is in a state of let-down. The writer heard a woman remark, "I had always known Mr. S—— in his executive capacity at his office. I was surprised to find how different he is at home. There he yields to reason and even to the whims of his family." The relaxation begins when the suburbanite commits himself to the evening train. But there is another feature of his let-down at the day's end. His environment does not stimulate him to action, nor does he propose that it shall. His children do not see him as an achieving personality. Under these conditions a son does not always receive from his father the stimulus which is his due.

### SUBURBS AND THE FUTURE

"The America of the future," says Frederic C. Howe, "will not be a country of isolated communities." The solution of the city problem as such cannot be found in the suburbs. Suburbs have taken from cities the very people who might have found a solution.

Somehow America must find a better way. Let her build cities for home life, for culture, for education, for recreation, for religion, but let these cities share the world's work. Business and industry cannot safely be separated from the home and the church; too many

human relations are involved. Let the city make its contribution directly to the complex problem of social relationship—between worker and manager, consumer and producer, race and race, class and class, and group and group.

The suburban trend is personal rather than social in its impulse, pessimistic rather than optimistic in its attitude towards the old city, a way of escape from the city rather than a solution of its problems. Let us look rather to the remaking of the city, to be further discussed in Chapter V.

### THE SUBURBS AND THE CHURCH

One would seem justified in declaring that the task of providing church facilities for the suburbs is unprecedented, but the churches of America have confronted huge undertakings before. The pioneer movement placed upon the churches a task of herculean proportions. The great territory from the Alleghanies to the Rockies and from the Rockies to the coast required schools as well as churches, and the churches were the pioneers in frontier school establishment. They undertook the pioneering task with decision. The immigration movement placed upon them their most difficult task, not alone for its magnitude but for its repercussion on American life. Within a single generation the immigration movement modified to a marked degree the American culture that had developed during three or four centuries. The churches never seriously

addressed themselves to the immigration movement, with the result that the spiritual foundations of America have been severely shaken. Then the city trend followed fast, with tremendous social consequences.

In the light of these facts, comparison of the city trend with the suburban trend is difficult. The suburban trend is more like the pioneer movement, in that it has spread out the problems arising from immigration, without having introduced new racial or cultural elements into our national life.

The suburban movement involves a far greater number of people within a given period of years than did the pioneer movement. Like that movement, it creates two sets of problems. As churches in the East were weakened by the frontier movement, and as country churches generally were weakened by the city trend, so downtown churches have been crippled and areas of deterioration have been created by the suburban trend, presenting unprecedented problems for solution by the church.

Moreover, the suburban trend has brought together large groups of people who need the church. There are new areas in the outlying sections of many cities without churches. The demand for churches in such areas has been beyond the available resources of the city church societies generally. In Detroit and Chicago this is strikingly the case. One denominational city society in Detroit with practically no capital funds has obligations in excess of $800,000 contracted in

church building enterprises in the effort to keep up with the demand.

At this writing the author is interested in an interdenominational survey of Long Island outside the limits of New York City. Such communities as these have been found:

S——, with a population of 1,500, has no church organization and no resident pastor; church services are held once each month. There is a Sunday school of 110, and a young people's organization.

S—— Valley has a population of 3,000, growing rapidly, but no church.

In the village of B——, with 10,000 people, there are only 2,730 members of local churches, Protestant and Catholic.

In the village of S——, with approximately 10,000 population, there are only 1,738 members of local Protestant churches. There is no Catholic church.

Keeping up with Chicago is the task of the Chicago church city societies. Phenomenal is the word that best characterizes Chicago's growth. A recent survey report [1] says, "Incorporated in 1835 with a population of 3,297 and an area of 2.41 square miles, this city has grown in ninety-three years to be the third largest city in the world, with a population January 1, 1927, of 3,120,000 and an area of 208.6 square miles." In the same report is a list of seventy-four important Chi-

[1] From "Population Factors Determining the Religious Future of Chicago," Department of Research and Survey of the Chicago Congregational Missionary and Extension Society.

cago suburbs, all in Cook County; they range in population from 300 to 68,000. The population is projected to 1950. In the case of fifty-six of them an increase in population of 100 per cent is anticipated.

This Chicago experience may be taken as a typical if somewhat extreme illustration of the growth of American cities both in population and in expansion of territory. The experiences of the church bodies serving Long Island and Chicago and its suburbs are characteristic of those serving Cleveland, Detroit, and Los Angeles. It is quite impossible for the imagination to picture the responsibility which the tremendous and continued growth of cities, and the disconcerting shifts of population within their borders places upon the church.

### THE CHURCH AND MATERIALISTIC CITY FORCES

As the city shares the life of the nation and enters into the spirit of the times, there is danger that it may lose itself in material pursuits.

There is danger that the church itself may put its reliance upon material rather than spiritual results. Perhaps our overseas critic is right. "Thus, no matter where we turn, every day materialism is tending to encroachment on spiritual life. . . . In America the dominant force that is threatening to carry everything before it, Protestant, Catholic, and Jew, is the obsession for tangible and material accomplishments. At times it seems as if the object of religion were no longer to

kindle mysticism in the soul and spirit, but to enlist them and organize their energies." [1]

May the city appropriate the advantages of civilization to the end that it may not break under the weight of its own numbers, and that the life of its people may be tolerable; but may it refuse to accept tangible and material advantages as the goal of civilization. May the church develop resources to meet the competition of interests, the antagonism of neighborhoods, the conflict of class, the discord of races, the emotional strain of thwarted desires and unfulfilled ambitions, of despair or overconfidence, of loneliness or of surfeit.

May the church assure the validity of human relationships, even though particular relations must ever yield to change. May the church help individuals to find their lives in fellowship, in mutual service, and in sympathetic accord.

May the church write large the inherent worth of the man, and forever glorify the potentialities of his sonship with God.

[1] Siegfried, *America Comes of Age*, p. 53.

# V

# *Remaking the City*

In a Gothic cathedral, thrust and counter-thrust are in balance; part stands against part; force counteracts force; the structure is a unit, a symbol of strength; it stands in poise; it is at peace with itself; it is a thing of beauty.

No architect has been able to bring parts into balance in city structure. No social engineer has been able to counteract force with force. Thrust and counter-thrust do not balance. The play of centrifugal and centripetal forces does not keep the city in its appointed orbit. It is forever being swung out of course, now this way, now that; witness city concentration, witness suburban outflow.

City planners are city architects. As such it is their function to relate part to part. The position of the part is important, but the functioning of the part in the whole is the primary consideration. In dealing with the physical forces conditioning city structure, city planners become social engineers.

Our interest here is primarily in church city planning, but the church is greatly indebted to municipal city planning. The physical remaking of the city must

of necessity be left to municipal city planners. The city itself must determine conditions under which individuals and institutions, including the church, are compelled to live.

City planning has made a powerful appeal to the imagination in recent years. It has influenced thinking about the city in its every phase. We shall now turn to municipal city planning for a new outlook or viewpoint of the city. We shall then turn to the particular application of the principles of city planning to church city planning.

### A. MUNICIPAL CITY PLANNING

City planning has significance not so much for what it has done directly as for what it has done indirectly by creating new attitudes and new outlook. City planning involves the city proper and the city in relation to its environs, thereby turning all the parts into a community. It assigns a use for every area, whether for residence, trade, or manufacturing. It looks toward the future, thereby fostering a sense of stability and permanence. It concerns itself with æsthetic values, to the end that ugliness may yield to beauty. All this creates new faith, new courage, new optimism, and is significant both for the city and for the church.

The peculiar weakness of American cities has been their social impotence. They are operated under charters granted by state legislatures. Since state legislators generally do not understand the problems of

the city, cities have been granted only limited power to work out their own salvation and to correct their defects. (Let us observe parenthetically that there is a parallel situation in religious bodies, particularly those denominations that are predominantly rural in their makeup and outlook. Too often they refuse to give sufficient freedom to permit proper "connectional" or central organization of churches within the city.) In consequence of this limitation placed on the people in their collective capacity, individuals have taken power into their own hands. With the municipality adopting a hands-off policy, the individual has had freedom to put his hand in and "live for his own pocket all the time."

### A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT

The basic defects of the city can be traced to a faulty philosophy of the powers of government. "The government should interfere with the individual as little as possible," said John Stuart Mill. "Each man is the best judge of his own interest." This is the laissez-faire political philosophy. In the case of cities it requires expansion, for cities have been compelled to interfere with the individual. The city man may not dig a well in his back yard. The city government controls water supply, and forces inspection of the milk supply. The city must and does control various matters pertaining to public health. The city tells a man how and when he may use a public street. In-

deed, his freedom is restricted at every turn; what is more, he knows it must be so for the public good. The Tenement House Act of the New York State Legislature in 1901 was a rather dramatic and far-reaching assertion of the right of the city to control the building of dwellings designed to house more than two families. Since 1900 new charters with increased powers have been given to many cities, and a broader social program has been adopted.

City planning is based on the police power of the community. It says to the individual, "Thus far shalt thou go." It assumes the right of the city to its own characteristic life. Its impulse is essentially social.

Another step, though a very limited one, has been taken through city planning toward the correction of one of the weaknesses inherent in our social system. The transportation of great masses of people to or by a given spot, the concentration of large numbers at a given point or the prospect of a future movement or developments, tends to enhance the value of real estate. Hitherto the advantages of this process have been reaped by individuals. Now, by the process of excess condemnation, the people as a whole are enabled to appropriate the increased valuation in particular instances.

For example, the city builds a parkway. The value of adjacent property is increased. By purchase or condemnation (taking by the right of eminent domain) the city acquires title to adjacent property at a fair

price, holding the same for later sale. Thus the city conserves for the people as a whole the increase in valuation. This illustrates quite a new philosophy of city government.

### HISTORY OF CITY PLANNING

Our space does not permit an adequate statement of the history of city planning. City planning is as old as Belshazzar. Louis XIV practised it, and Napoleon. Sir Christopher Wren gave it artistic expression after the great fire in London in 1666, though the city was rebuilt too quickly to profit by it. Pierre L'Enfant gave it its best expression in America in the city plan of Washington.

Definite form and impetus were given to the project by the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. The city plan for Chicago certainly grew directly from this source. Features of the plan, which may be used to illustrate the city plan of other cities, include preservation of the World's Fair grounds; reclaiming large areas of lake front, with playgrounds, bathing beaches, drives, and park areas; widening of existing streets, with new diagonals cut through; a great boulevard to circle the city; a civic center, forest preserves beyond city limits for rest and recreation; better placing of railroad tracks and stations, and many other advantages.

"City planning," says Nelson P. Lewis, "is simply the exercise of such foresight as will promote the

orderly and sightly development of a city and its environs along rational lines, with due regard for health, amenity, and convenience, and for its commercial and industrial advancement." [1] We may say that it implies the assignment of a place within the city for every essential expression or activity of the people in the direction of its future development.

The process of zoning is a basic feature of city planning. Zoning divides the city into "use" districts—residence, business, and unrestricted—and is designed to stabilize neighborhoods by defining their use for a long period of years. Under zoning laws the height of buildings is regulated, to provide light and air and to check congestion. The regulation of the height and bulk of buildings in cities has brought about a new type of architecture—buildings with a progressive set-back, giving the impression from the front of huge stairs up which a giant might walk. These regulations, however, have not prevented congestion. They have not been made drastic enough.

Provision is also made under city planning for widening streets and leaving open spaces, thereby ensuring light and air and allowing for the circulation of masses of people. Extreme concentration makes such forethought essential. The daily traffic within a single metropolitan building is greater than that within many cities. The Equitable Building in New York, for example, contains an office population of over

[1] Quoted in Sears, *Church City Planning*, p. 11.

11,000, with a daily traffic of 127,000 in and out. The elevators carry 92,000 people daily. Think of pouring into the streets from a single building enough people to make a city of 100,000. If all the occupants and visitors from these great buildings should attempt to leave at the same time, the streets could not contain them. Another important provision is made by city planning for parks and playgrounds, and sometimes for parks and forest preserves beyond the city limits for recreational centers, for lake and ocean bathing spaces, and for great boulevards designed to take care of through traffic.

### DECENTRALIZING THE CITY

Decentralizing the city becomes an essential problem in a city plan. Why centralize industries when industrial plants may better be decentralized? Why add to centralization when by a shift in industry the homes of workers may also be shifted? Why not build new centers of recreation and amusement, instead of drawing people from all sections to the Great White Way? Why route through traffic along the city's busiest streets when it could be diverted through by-passes? These are problems that strike at the heart of the comfort and convenience of the average man.

Regional planning is a natural outgrowth of city planning. Plainly it is impossible to deal adequately with the inner city alone or even with the territory

within city limits when the population is spilling over into a much wider area.

Much legislation directed to the improvement of living conditions in the city is mainly negative in effect, little more than the prohibitive, "Thou shalt not." City and regional planning, on the other hand, is constructive, planning for a wide area and over a long period on the basis of what should be, rather than stopping at the point of what should not.

### B. CHURCH CITY PLANNING

Seeing parishes disintegrate, constituencies move out as from a plague, the hand that would help struck with palsy, church properties deserted and fallen into decay, the churches have taken to flight. Frequently, by hasty withdrawal and by sale of property to another group, they have hastened the deterioration of neighborhoods. The people have been left as sheep without a shepherd.

Church city planning gives a new outlook to the church. It comprehends the city and its environs, the city and its future, the city and its parts, all in terms of need and interrelation. The sense of permanency, courage, optimism, and faith emerges. How much better if the church might have led the way! But only the municipality can fix conditions under which a community can become stabilized. As a result, municipal city-planning churches may build with new confidence. They may plan a city strategy and

lay out a church city plan with definite information made available by municipal city planners.

City conditions demand something more than parish or local neighborhood treatment. They demand a city-wide church plan.

This problem does not emerge so acutely in the smaller city, because of limited distances and greater accessibility. There a family is served by its church even though it should move to another neighborhood or quite beyond the city limits. Under these conditions a church may make its influences city-wide. In a smaller community the force of personality holds at a distance. In a large city it is lost around the corner.

The very breakup of a city into parts with unequal privileges demands a city-wide plan, if adequate attention is to be given to each part. The city, as we have seen, tends to specialization and to separation of interests, to the segregation of population according to occupation, culture, race, and wealth. Like attracts like; birds of a feather flock together everywhere, but in the larger cities in sufficient numbers to create groups of social importance: bohemian quarters, furnished room areas, lodging house districts, student quarters, Little Italys, Little Hungarys, racial groups, cultural groups, occupational groups, and groups based merely on ability to pay high rent. Vice settles in sunless spots; poverty bears its weight unseen; children swarm where children should not live; alien races jostle untouched by hands that might show them the way up

and out. The city is marked by ten thousand diversities and inequalities.

How equalize privileges under these conditions? For example, how far would a rooming house area such as we have already described be likely to get in providing itself with churches or social institutions? Such a community is practically devoid of constructive leadership. It makes available no material resource for any community purpose, save only as it pays room rent, and as a portion of the rent goes for taxes. Lodging house areas, hotel districts, bohemian quarters, and to a less extent foreign language colonies, are deficient in constructive leadership. On the other hand, a good residence area, whether city or suburb, has greater stability, more public spirit, more resource, and more available leadership.

If religion is regarded as merely a community affair, how can it find adequate expression in an unfavored area? A larger view is essential. The church can meet modern city conditions only by an enlarged conception of the community—a community that comprehends the whole city. This viewpoint finds practical expression in a church city plan, under present conditions working through a single communion or denomination, but in harmony with other denominations and coordinated with an interdenominational church city plan, as we shall point out.

SOCIAL WELFARE

A church city plan involves social welfare—helping to create conditions under which normal life is possible. Social service becomes a mockery unless there is a sincere effort to change underlying wrong conditions. There is more significance in filling the pit than in pulling out the ass. We must think and strive, therefore, in terms of public sanitation and preventive medicine; of housing that permits health and privacy and beauty and opportunity for the social amenities; of industry that gives first consideration to human values, to the safety and well-being of the workers; of social education which includes removal of the threat of war. These and many other factors are involved in a church city plan of social welfare. This social sense will find expression not only in church programs but in public worship, through hymns like "Where Cross the Crowded Ways of Life," through prayers like *Prayers of the Social Awakening,* and through prophetic preaching. Through these influences individual churchmen will get an intimation of the social passion, a sense of the church's identification with social effort, and be able to move forward and translate the church's part of it into action.

This finds expression in the following abridged statement.

(1) Personality, involving the infinite and equal worth of every human being . . . (2) brotherhood, involving the close kinship of the human race . . . (3) service, as

the chief motive of all endeavor . . . (4) liberty, involving the right of each individual to self-realization, self-expression, and self-determination . . . (5) justice, involving the condemnation of all forms of exploitation and oppression of the weak by the powerful, condemning the neglect of the needy by the more fortunate . . . (6) accountability, involving responsible stewardship of all talents, wealth, and privileges . . . (7) love, the culmination and summary of the principles of Jesus.[1]

### SOCIAL SERVICE

A church city plan will think in terms of social service, remembering that multitudes of people are innocent victims of social wrongs passed over to them from our own and past generations. A social service city plan will undertake to lift burdens from crushed shoulders, bearing them for love's sake as partial atonement for social wrongdoing, lest the unfortunate, the handicapped, the misfit, the misplaced, and a great army of innocent children utterly perish. Under the plan, churches, acting either separately or with other churches, find opportunity to carry out an active program of social service. In no other way can the church make adjustments to meet existing inequalities.

Be it forever remembered that it is unfair and untrue to fact in a great number of cases—a surprisingly large number—to attribute individual suffering and family misfortune to fault of the individual or to the family involved. Rather suffering and misfortune must

[1] Sherwood Eddy, quoted in Sears, *Church City Planning*, p. 61.

be attributed to the failure of society as a whole; to the injustice and maladjustment for which it has not yet found a cure. Study well the life stories in this and other volumes to see if this is not true. Nor does it deny the very large general factor of individual and family responsibility to recognize that there are these great social wrongs which bear heavily on individual victims.

As in foreign lands, the best informed and most reliable interpreters of the needs and conditions of peoples are the ministers and missionaries who frequent the crowded ways. Let these men and women help to prepare the church for comprehensive church city planning.

The average citizen is indifferent to such conditions as we have described. What startling ignorance is found even in the church itself! Just before a great missionary secretary died he remarked to a friend, "I have lived for years like a rat. Yes, like a rat. Each day I leave a room at one end of the hole where I live at night, and pass through the hole which they call a subway to the room at the other end that I call my office. At night I go back again through the hole to the room at the other end where I sleep. Yes, I live like a rat." This man had thought of national and international affairs as a Christian statesman but he had not associated himself with the life of his own city. So it is with thousands of brokers and lawyers and clerks. Chambers of commerce play up business

conditions and paint large the commercial opportunities of a town or city, but who explores the areas of neglect? Who knows whether the city affords equal privileges to all, particularly to children? Let the church speak for the people.

### MINISTRY WITHIN AREAS OF DETERIORATION

A comprehensive church city plan will give particular attention to areas of deterioration. These areas are in every city of any considerable size, and in the larger cities contain a large proportion of the city's population. They are a direct consequence of the growth of cities, and involve particular responsibility on the part of everyone who is advantaged by the city's progress. Moreover, these blighted areas are a great peril to the city as a whole, affecting its health and morals. They are the areas of American life to which attention is frequently called when comparison is made between Eastern and Western civilization. And they are a heavy liability to the foreign mission cause.

Consider the diversity of needs in these areas. We call attention again to the facts set forth in the preceding chapter. Who live in these sections?—(a) young men and young women fresh from farms, villages and small cities, now segregated in the rooming house areas or in cheap hotels; (b) families from the country; (c) retired farmers and others from the country, with a fixed and limited income as measured by city standards and thereby greatly handicapped; (d)

inexperienced but worthy country families seeking a new start in life; (e) country ne'er-do-wells, ready candidates for city slums; (f) foreign language groups segregated by race, or a mêlée of people gathered from the ends of the earth; (g) Negroes fresh from the South who have been driven into the worst districts; (h) the exploiters of all these groups, who furnish the thrills for a drab existence, through dance halls, pool rooms, commercialized vice, "blind tigers," and the peddling of "dope"; (i) a new type of resident in the apartment hotels that are springing up in these areas, who sorely need to have their civic and religious interest quickened; and (j) a remnant of the old community, families or single individuals who have not joined the flight of the fortunate, although they share the advantages of wealth, of culture, of civic outlook, of religious interest, and who continue to live in the old downtown area for the sake of the church into which they are pouring their life. This old population includes men tied to the political life of the district, also merchants and others who find it convenient to dwell in the downtown areas.

What a challenge to the church: loneliness, struggle, disillusionment, broken ideals, lost incentive! It is here that men die of loneliness in a crowd. On the other hand, it is here that they experience ambition, wonderment, susceptibility to new idealism, and withal a sincere desire to rise in the economic and social scale.

What a variety of ministry is called for! It must be

specialized—for young men, for young women, for foreign groups according to language and past experience, for families from the country, for Negroes according to mental development and experience, and for all the rest. It is a fallacy to think that all, regardless of tastes, accomplishment or experience, should be served in the same group, or even in the same church. The situation in the Protestant churches is very different from the situation in the Roman Catholic church. We make a plea in the next chapter for group organization and for individual self-expression, the plea that the church shall offer every individual a sphere of influence and congenial contacts through group organization. This of course is not the working plan or ideal of the Catholic church. At the altar all classes and races and ages may well meet. In the confessional the individual stands alone. The Protestant churches, on the other hand, are designed to encourage self-expression on the part of their members and to foster lay leadership. This involves group appeal and contact. Group organization within the church will permit a single church to serve people of great cultural diversity.

In areas of deterioration the churches may wisely supplement the home by providing day nurseries, play rooms, a supervised church study room, music classes, recreation hours, gymnasium and playgrounds and, above all, sympathetic Christian workers to serve boys and girls in small groups.

What a challenge to the church and to society is

this cry from the heart of a pastor working in one of these communities, serving a church that would have been closed and sold out had it not been for a denominational city society: "The exorbitant rents for a few dark rooms in a great hive swarming with people, streets made of solid pavements, the only playground for children; the rush of business life with its inexorable laws and demands, all help to bewilder and confuse the immigrant. If the family is large, often there is not room for them to sit comfortably together at meal time. A child is sent to the street to eat a baker's roll filled with some form of green stuff and scrambled egg. Sleeping conditions alone are such as to amaze the uninitiated. A large family of eight or ten members will somehow or other stow itself away in three rooms, where not more than one bed is in evidence in the daytime. Often four or five children will sleep in the same bed, and all sorts of devices are resorted to in order to make a sleeping place. One girl we know slept on the top of a curved trunk lid until she was twelve years of age. Another child found the ironing board her place of repose. In hot weather the fire escape makes a cooler if not safer place to sleep than do the hot rooms." This particular church provides day nursery, kindergarten, gymnasium, and various group organization under trained Christian leaders.

The pathetic struggle in such homes is illustrated by this tragic story reported by a missionary in an-

other of the denominationally supported downtown churches.

"One day I took an Italian woman to the New York Central Station to meet one of her children who was coming home from a fresh air farm. The mother had lived in the city for fifteen years, but had never been inside the station before. On the way there she told me of her pitiful efforts to get work. In the congestion of street traffic she stopped and very dramatically showed me the contents of her pocketbook—two quarters. Then she turned to me and asked, 'What use is life? This morning I almost turn on gas in kitchen and end all. This summer I near go crazy. I can stand no more. So one day I turn on gas, but Jew lady downstairs come and she stop me.' Then she added, 'This life no good; just work, work, get married, no money, just trouble, trouble all the time!' "

What an opportunity for a trained and sympathetic Christian worker to fortify the soul of a hopeless woman! What an urge to improve our economic life, and to make better living conditions available to all, particularly the very poor.

*Ministry to Unattached Men*

An adequate church city plan will provide a ministry adapted to the peculiar needs of unattached persons living in lodging houses in these areas, a service highly specialized and requiring outside support. Quite generally this phase of work is supported by

undenominational organizations, but in not a few instances denominational mission boards are sharing in this ministry.

The significance of this type of work appears in individual contacts. One is frequently surprised to find a wealth of human sympathy and of personal religious devotion.

> Just a few days ago our missionary in charge at the Home for Indigent Men at Holmesburg told the following story. It appears that among the many hundreds of human wrecks in the Home there is at least one heroic figure. Every Sunday morning this man is the center of the most novel and touching sight . . . He will be seen moving with a slow, painful, shifting gait, so peculiar to the paralytic, along the path leading to the chapel. Upon beholding his affliction one would think that all his strength and ability were needed to convey his own poor diseased body without an added burden of any kind whatsoever. There are always men holding fast to him and being guided by him. He is leading them to chapel service. Our missionary questioned him as to his reason for doing this. He replied, "It is my way of doing something for my Master." [1]

The lives of Sammie and Mr. C. stand out in pathetic contrast. Sammie was a helpless, bed-ridden, feeble-minded, motherless boy who was left alone in a dark, sunless room each day while his father, a laborer, was at his work. Sammie's suffering was pathetic, for his body was covered with sores. But one day he was discovered by a church missionary.

[1] Jefferys, *The City Mission Idea*, p. 30.

Through her influence Sammie received the attention of Mr. C., a young man of good family who had been rescued from a life of drink and debauchery through the daily gospel services of the same church. Mr. C. was accustomed to take Sammie to the parks and to the children's meeting of the church in a wheel chair provided by one of the churches. One day Mr. C. failed to come for Sammie—his spirit had left the "broken earthen vessel" where it had been confined. There is an abiding pathos in such lives, for the restoration of bodies in many cases does not follow the redemption of the spirit. As for Sammie, his father finally consented to his being taken to an institution.

Ministry to unattached men is being conducted in many cities by the Episcopal city mission societies and by the inner mission societies of the Lutheran church. It is a distinctly specialized type of work quite unlike that done by the denominational city societies generally. These are known as church extension societies, city mission societies, city unions, or city societies. We may illustrate by an experience of the Episcopal City Mission Society and Mariners' Church of Detroit as reported by the secretary.

In Detroit we have found our biggest task to be the care of the transients who come in by thousands on account of the decidedly industrial nature of this city's life. Certain underworld types also provide distinct groups both as to location and common interest; for example, the drug addicts. I have found them congregating in great numbers in their own districts of the city.

Our center of work, the Mariners' Church, was originally built to care for sailors in the old sailing days, but later became the old parish church of Detroit. As the city continued to grow and the population to move out, the church was left in a warehouse district without any population. The problem developed of caring for the underworld and poverty-stricken classes of a large city, and it was found that the old church was particularly well situated for such work. From small beginnings it has become a fully organized enterprise with such complete facilities that it has become the clearing house for social work for the council of churches, and calls made on churches throughout the city are referred to us. The chaplaincy of the public institutions for the council of churches has also become part of our work.

### CHURCH STRATEGY

These areas of deterioration in the very nature of the case cannot organize or maintain the religious institutions they desperately need. A great mass of their people are struggling for very existence, others are absorbed in the effort to change a status so low that one cannot blame them for failure to give themselves to altruistic undertakings. They have not the city mind; they are thinking in terms of individual welfare merely, and do not comprehend that by giving of themselves to others they might add to their personal joy and individual development.

Should the church move out from these sections? Do the exigencies confronting the individual church demand it? Is it expedient from the denominational viewpoint? The churches are too often tempted to

press a thorny crown of denominational expediency on the head of the Christ. Where is this revealed more glaringly than in the treatment of these blighted areas? —because for the present these areas can only take, and for a long time cannot give. They take money and give neither denominational prestige nor resource—merely opportunity for Christlike service. Are a greater number of contributing churches essential to the world-wide missionary enterprises of the denomination? Are there more promising fields elsewhere? Are the suburbs calling for capital investment? Could these old churches be sold and the proceeds used to greater advantage elsewhere? Should the churches move out? Rather should not more churches move in?

These questions must needs be answered in a family council of the churches. It is useless to expect either wise counsel or heroic action from a church whose very life blood has been drawn. Privilege and opportunity must be equalized, if at all, over a larger area than that of a local parish. Whether within a single communion or on an inter-communion basis, the churches must think of the city as a community, and match existive need with resource and leadership.

*Conservation of Resources*

A church city plan will aim to conserve the resources of the church. It will think in terms of permanent funds handled by a church city society in such a way that a helpful ministry may continue in these blighted

areas without failure to provide a religious ministry in more favored areas. Christian statesmanship of the highest type is required to keep a balance. As neighborhoods change and a population at one time predominantly Protestant is mingled with other groups, leaving but a thin mixture of people of evangelical Christian sympathies, it is evident that all the churches of the locality are not required for a single type of work. Whether a given church building should be used for a foreign language church, for a Negro church, for a wider community ministry as a Christian center or church community center, or sold and the proceeds used to establish a new church elsewhere or to sustain work in another community, should be determined only after a careful study of conditions involved. Such consideration can be brought about only by cultivating within the churches a sense of responsibility for the city as a whole, in contrast with merely parish loyalties.

Take a concrete case in the city of Brooklyn, with which the writer had to do within the year. A church established in 1901 to serve an American constituency found itself by 1927 in a community ninety per cent southeastern European in its origin, chiefly Jewish and Italian. The church members and constituency had largely moved away. As a result of church city planning conferences, the church transferred its property to the denominational city society under a trust agreement. In accordance with this agreement the

property has been sold for $160,000, of which approximately $60,000 is being used toward the purchase of land and erection of a church plant adapted both to worship and to religious education. This plant will be dedicated to the service of an Italian-American constituency. The remaining hundred thousand dollars will be added to the property revolving fund of this city society, to be used to encourage the establishment of churches in other areas as they are required.

*Revenue-bearing Buildings*

A partial solution of the economic problem involved in the preservation of downtown churches may be found in taking advantage of the excessive land values of certain individual churches. In many cities it is possible to rent leaseholds of old church sites for a long period of years, with a provision that the lessee or operator shall erect a combination church and revenue-bearing building, meeting the costs of construction and maintenance and paying the church or denominational organization a substantial annual rental besides. Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, and other denominational boards in New York City are preserving churches in areas of deterioration by this method.

*Leadership*

Funds and properties are essential for effective work, but they do not solve the question of leadership. A

university man of wide social outlook lived for many years in one of the worst sections of the lower East Side of New York under the conviction that a citizen has a responsibility he cannot evade, and that he should remain a neighbor. Other individuals and families are maintaining their contact with downtown churches, though living at a distance. In some instances they join a church in a suburban community, maintaining a "service membership" in the old downtown church, which they aid by contributions and service.

*Denominational Solidarity*

An adequate ministry in these areas of deterioration is not possible under present-day conditions except through denominational solidarity—the development of the denomination as a fellowship with a city-wide consciousness. The time will come when this sort of work can be done interdenominationally, and indeed that time has come already, so far as individual contributors and workers are concerned; but their gifts and service are channeled through denominational agencies. To date ecclesiastical liberalism has tended rather to weaken than to strengthen the forces at work in these areas. By questioning the value of denominational agencies, these leaders have weakened the only religious agencies at work in areas which have strength and cohesiveness enough to hold, to direct, and to maintain staffs of workers, or to enlist a contributing con-

stituency with an army of volunteer workers. With rare exceptions no other agency has been organized to take the place of these denominational city societies. They almost alone help to equalize religious opportunity within a large city.

May not churchmen be guided here by experience in other realms of life? For many years the writer has been accustomed to pass daily through the Grand Central Station in New York City. During the years of the rebuilding of the terminal, while solid rock was being blasted to provide space for an upper and lower level of track, while foundations were being laid for huge skyscrapers and construction was under way, business went on as usual and the trains rolled in and out with safety and practically without delay. Ecclesiastical changes must be made, but the work of the Kingdom cannot wait! Adaptation in church machinery and denominational relationship, yes, by all means, but let it not interrupt ministry to needy people.

### MINISTRY WITHIN AREAS OF OPPORTUNITY

The Christian forces in more favored areas must be recruited and mobilized to make a city-wide program effective. The church must find its way into areas of opportunity if it would continue to serve in areas of deterioration.

In the suburbs live able men, resourceful women, and young people of large opportunity. "Our fathers built the city." This generation must build the sub-

urbs. The suburbs need roads, sewers, light, water, schools, which are provided at public expense, forcing heavy tax rates. They need churches. To fill this need is one of the exigent tasks of the Christian church of today. The suburbs need churches for their own sake. The Godless suburb is more dangerous than a pestilential slum. Churches must be established in the suburbs to help save the suburbs themselves; the suburbs are needed in turn to help save the city. It is a piece of Epicurean philosophy to say, let the suburbs organize their religious institutions as they organize their golf and social life. Those who have the greater privileges cannot so easily withdraw from those who have the fewer.

### A FELLOWSHIP OF SERVICE

To equalize religious privileges within a large city of such inequalities requires the linking of churches of varied types into a chain of fellowship and service. Such a chain will include churches of varied culture, of different social rank, of many languages and races, and yet with a community of interest, a common Christian experience, and a sharing in common tasks —new churches requiring aid to become established; old churches in unfavored areas needing volunteer service and resource as they reach out for group after group of boys and girls, of young people and others; foreign language churches needing and welcoming sympathetic interpretation of personal religion; Negro

churches requiring financial aid and guidance in adapting their programs to city conditions and aid in the training of their leaders.

The writer can bear witness that there are these chains of churches where fellowship is real and where service is sharing, based on mutuality. The chain would be impossible if the organization of religion were to be treated as a community matter alone; if areas of opportunity were to have no concourse or fellowship with areas of deterioration, underprivileged and blighted. A chain of service is possible only by treating the city and its environs as a community, and by cultivating a sense of unity and the habit of cooperation among the churches of a denominational group. This way of approach makes of the group itself a city-wide Christian fellowship.

### AN INTER-COMMUNION CITY PLAN

Already a church ministry on an inter-communion or interdenominational basis is supplementing the types of work referred to in the preceding paragraphs, and is preparing the way for better interdenominational understanding and cooperation.

#### *Social Welfare and Social Service*

Cooperation between the churches, and so far as possible between representatives of the great religious faiths, is essential in the field of social welfare and social service. In practical experience, however, this cooperation is confined mainly to the Protestant fel-

lowship of churches. Particular attention is called by Dr. H. Paul Douglass to happy relationships between the Chicago Federation and the organized forces of social work, especially the Joint Service Bureau of Child Caring Agencies. Similar cooperative relations exist in other cities. There is particular need for a restudy of agencies serving Negroes, in view of the large increase of Negro population and the quite general exclusion of Negroes from existing institutions and agencies.

The Chicago Federation of Churches is coordinating Protestant ministry in public institutions—infirmaries, jails, hospitals and similar institutions. Similar service is rendered in other cities by the Episcopal City Mission Societies and by the Lutheran Inner Mission Societies.

*Religious Education*

Church federations, either directly or through a council of religious education, are serving the churches in the general field of religious education. The Chicago Council of Religious Education, which is the Chicago Federation's department of religious education, conducts the following program:

Directs leadership training schools in various sections of the metropolitan area and conducts university extension courses for college credit.

Conducts training schools and conferences for church vacation school workers.

Promotes and supervises church vacation schools.

Conducts conferences on the use of drama in religious education.

Publishes booklet listing 100 plays suitable for church use.

Holds conferences for ministers, church school leaders and parent teachers, with addresses made by national leaders in religious education.

Conducts conferences and institutes in local churches, neighborhoods and districts.

Holds conferences on child study and character education in the home.

Provides consultant service for local church workers in religious education problems.

Is a clearing house of religious education programs and policies for seventeen denominations.

The Council of Religious Education of the Greater New York Federation of Churches maintains a separate bureau for the promotion of week-day schools of religious instruction. Programs of religious education have served to bring the churches closer together in spirit, in method, and in practical programs.

*Evangelism*

In evangelism and in the cultivation of spiritual resources federations have rendered valuable service. They have been able to lead the churches in visitation evangelism through which entire communities have been reached. Many city federations have been successful in uniting the churches in Lenten services, and have rendered real service in planning for the city-wide observance of a day of prayer.

*Interracial Relations*

The Chicago Federation has been particularly successful in the work done by the various commissions; for example, the Committee on Endorsements in cooperation with the Chicago Association of Commerce, is providing the city with a list of worthy social and religious philanthropies for the guidance of donors. The Commission on Interracial Relations arranges for the interchange of pulpits between white and colored ministers, and for mass meetings in the interest of interracial understanding.

*Comity*

Population research and community survey as a guide to the placement of churches is one of the most important functions of a federation of churches. It is usually conducted under the supervision of a comity committee.

The mobility of a city vitally affects the church, both the established institutions in the old areas, and the process of church extension in the new. The church to be effective must keep itself informed. This requires specialized service. In small cities it may be accomplished through a committee of pastors and laymen. In Detroit and Cleveland it is effectively done through a committee of denominational city society executives working with their respective church federations. As cities grow into the first class they get beyond the imagination of their people. As children we

used to put together puzzle maps. No one knows the city well enough to put it together. No one can carry the entire city in mind, the relation of part to part, neighborhood to neighborhood. City administration thus becomes impersonal and church city planning difficult. The New York Federation of Churches has recently appointed a comity and survey secretary whose task it is to follow population changes, to make or to supervise neighborhood surveys, and to counsel with the representatives of the cooperating church boards at work within the metropolitan center. Only in some such way can church equipment be brought into harmony with population and neighborhood changes.

Comity is carried by some federations into the field of active cooperation.

Comity is one of the most needed elements in religious work in a great city so that all efforts may be synchronized and effective service rendered. By way of illustration one could point to the exhaustive study of the South Chicago area made by the Department of Research and Survey of the Chicago Federation under the direction of Professor Arthur E. Holt, and the suggested program of cooperation between different denominations. In addition, the Commission on Comity during the year organized an undenominational church committee to assist groups desiring to organize community churches without denominational affiliation. The Filipino Church and the Chinese Church of Christ, organized and supported through the Comity Commission of the Chicago Church Federation, are splendid examples of interdenominational churches

for foreign-speaking groups, perhaps without parallel elsewhere.[1]

As this coordinated ministry is perfected; as a habit of cooperation is widened; as Christian experience, vital and personal, becomes common to all groups, areas of cooperation will widen and church city planning on an inter-communion basis will be more effective.

[1] From a report of the Rural-Urban Conference held in Chicago Theological Seminary, October 29-30, 1928, as published in the *Church Federation Bulletin,* Chicago, February 1929.

# VI

# *Personalizing the City*

An observer in a great steel mill marvels at the control which an operator has over the vast mechanism. He finds that power is under control and is gauged to a nicety. The man transcends the machine. When someone from outside comes into the city, what startles him is that the city appears to have got beyond existing controls. Here man is not master of the machine. Men have gone on building up the mechanism of the city, adding part to part and generating more and more power with little thought of its use or control. The city is too much like a high-powered car in a heavy traffic without brakes. The city made men—men big enough to control and to transcend the machine. How may the church produce such men?

## HOW MAY THE CHURCH HELP CITY MEN?

How may the church help city men to escape the mechanism of the city? How help them to escape being crushed? How save them from the "fatalism of the mass"? How save them from being narrowed to life within a small segment of a circle? How preserve them from a "cheesemite consciousness"? How fit

them to use their leisure? How culture them as "seeds of the Kingdom"?

How may the church help save the city man from fatalism, from pessimism, from disillusionment and from cynicism? How may it save him for idealism, for daring, for adventurous living? How may it help to give him a sphere of influence? How help him to realize his sonship to God? How show him how he may acquire a sense of his own dignity and worth?

"I came that they may have life and may have it abundantly." "Ye are of more value than many sparrows." "A man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." The parables of the lost coin, the lost sheep, the lost son, were new expressions of the value of the individual. Jesus revealed that an individual has value first of all through relationship to God, that in God he finds his purpose and sense of destiny. "Ye are sons of God." As such ye have value. Jesus revealed further that a human life has value also through its relation to other lives.

### A NEW SENSE OF WORTH

The dignity and worth of every human being is the basis of our democracy, of our civil rights, of our social effort, of our missionary appeal, of our religious outlook. A study of the characters of the New Testament reveals the ways by which obscure people came to have a sense of place and usefulness through personal relationship to Christ. The primary purpose of mission-

ary work in a city as elsewhere is to bring about this relationship. The pastor of a Russian evangelical church introduced the writer to a one-time drunken, profane, illiterate Russian woman. His appeal to her that her body was the temple of God aroused her. Through Christ she came to have a new sense of her own dignity. After that she came into relationship with other worth-while lives. She was transformed and became a new creature. Through such experiences missionary policy is determined. It is a question not of the formal relationship of an individual to the church of his fathers, but of personal relationship to God.

The Brotherhood Chorus, a group of Bowery men, were singing at the Mariners' Temple. Every man had a history, dark, sad, tragic; but here they were singing in a chorus in a pleasant room under the direction of a minister able both to train their voices and to lead their spirits. How their faces changed, as did Saul's face under the playing of David. Mr. G., nearly eighty, broken in body, poorly clad, was singing first tenor, and his voice came out strong and clear. He followed the writer with his eyes. Years before he had been doorman and errand boy at the writer's office. Wrecked by early dissipation, his range of service was small, but he was faithful as a shepherd's dog and had a really rare spirit. One day he failed to appear, and he never came back. We were sure that his master appetite had got him again. A few years

later we found him at Mariners' Temple, a changed man. He had found the Master of his soul. No wonder there was a look of exultation in his eyes, for he had found himself and had found a niche for himself, something he could do well. Within this small circle he was respected and useful. In this new realm he lived.

It is the privilege of the church to give the average rank-and-file person a sphere of influence, however small, a realm of action, an opportunity for self-expression.

## PERSONALIZING THE PULPIT

Many successful city pastors are able to give individual members of large congregations the feeling of being at home; through their pulpit ministry they are able to create a family atmosphere within the church. They know how to bring lonely individuals out from their isolation. The membership of a church in a suburban section grew from sixty to nearly five hundred in less than two years. Its minister knows how to cultivate an atmosphere of friendliness. He individualizes his congregation, in the pulpit and without. He tries to make each member think of him as a personal friend. He cultivates friendly, sympathetic relations among the members of the congregation. He gives each individual a place of service and a realm of influence.

The great preacher is one who knows what is back of faces; whether loneliness, homesickness, discourage-

ment, pain, fear of disease, fear of death, weariness, heartache, conflict in home, business, or within one's circle of acquaintance; ambition, selfishness, bitterness, altruistic impulse, love for people, willingness to share. In the words of Dr. Rainsford:

> When I felt lonely, when I could not get on with my sermon, I would walk in the streets for a little, looking hard into the faces of the passers-by as I tried to read their story, tried to see the real man beneath the face's mask; and so, after a little time, I went back to my study with a new sense of the worth-whileness of life, a new sense of men's need for help, and a new determination to do what in me lay to give help. I could work better and preach better for those walks. They often gave me texts.[1]

### "RECREATIONAL" PASTORAL WORK

Pastoral service is not always rendered in a conventional manner. One minister speaks of his contacts with individuals during their periods of recreation as "recreational" pastoral work. Another minister was sent to a neighborhood church by a denominational city society. He found a church practically without constituency, surrounded by people depressed by poverty and wholly lacking in sympathy for the church. They were children of foreign-born parents of many races and confused religious background. The minister had a genius for attracting children and for working with young people. "Play with a child and he will

[1] Rainsford, *The Story of a Varied Life*, p. 152.

love you, and if he loves you, you can influence him for good," was his philosophy. In associating with young people in the gymnasium or in other recreations he found his opportunity for serious conversation, while the others went on with their play. At the request of the author, this pastor, a short time before his death, related the stories of many lives. "Nearly every day as we walked along the block a very sweet, pretty little girl who attended our penny concert—a week-night motion picture entertainment conducted weekly in this church for over twenty years—would run after us. Taking our hand she would walk a little way, prattling as she went, and then run back to her own door. Suddenly we missed the child. Then a messenger came to the parsonage to ask me to attend a funeral. There was the body of my little friend. The heartbroken mother said, 'We had no pastor, but baby had a pastor, and we sent for you.' Shortly after the funeral the family, who were intelligent and well-to-do people, moved into the country, but a few months later the mother wrote me that through that funeral service she had been brought to Christ, and later into the fellowship of a church."

Mr. Chambers was nearly sixty years old when he began this pastorate, which lasted for eighteen years. During that time he sent out into the world group after group of young people who from childhood had been under the influence of the church. Practically all of them, when establishing their own homes, moved into

better communities. Nearly all had come from homes without special religious interest, and at least three-fourths from a Roman Catholic background. Like Antæus, son of Jupiter of Greek mythology, who renewed his strength each time he touched his Mother Earth, Adam Chambers renewed his strength each time he touched his brother man. Just before his death he wrote: "This was the most soul-satisfying work I ever did. At seventy-seven years of age I felt I must drop out and make place for a younger man, yet it was with the deepest regret. Would God I were twenty or thirty years younger, that I might continue this delightful work."

### INTO HAUNTS OF WRETCHEDNESS

The church needs to follow the Master along the crowded ways to the place where they lead into "haunts of wretchedness."

The discovery of Ann and her family was quite an accident, or so the church missionary thought. In making calls in a certain block, trying to locate a family that had moved, she knocked at the door of a janitor's cellar apartment. After some delay the door was cautiously opened by a slip of a girl, twelve years old, pale and frail, clad in an odd assortment of clean but ill-fitting garments.

After a time the girl confessed amid sobs that her family was in dire need and desperate. There was no fire, although it was midwinter, the pantry shelves were without supplies, every possible pawnable thing in the

place had long since gone to keep life in the bodies of the widowed mother and her four daughters, ranging in age from a babe in arms to the twelve-year-old. The mother, just before going out that morning, had told the younger children to remain in bed to keep warm. Taking the oldest girl aside she had talked with her, and had suggested that unless she found work that morning they should together pad all keyholes and crevices, turn on the gas, and put an end to the hard and cheerless existence of the whole family. Ann agreed with this and she was waiting the return of her mother and the moment when the decision of the morning was to be carried out. Before the mother returned, the missionary had sent the girl out to purchase food and fuel with money from her own purse. She then took command of the situation and soon had the whole family heartened and hopeful. The four children afterward became regular attendants at Sunday school and the mother joined them at church.

Ann is now a charming and cultured young woman, consecrated to the Christian life. She is employed as a valued assistant to a missionary executive and is well known to the author. She was responsible for the employment of two of her sisters in other missionary offices. All three young women are respected and admired. The family purchased a modest home about three years ago in the suburbs and it is almost paid for. Ann is engaged to be married to a worthy young man whom she met in the church, who holds a responsible

position in a missionary office. This account is written with her knowledge and consent.

### A CHURCH BULLETIN SPEAKS

The New England church spire is a village preacher. In the city we may get our message through church bulletin or "wayside pulpit." It was so in Harry's case. What infinite tragedy or romance may be found in the life of a single individual or of a family! Dickens knew this—every story writer knows it. Happy is the church worker who has learned it for himself.

The church missionary was approaching the door of the church in an unfavored congested community when she saw a boy and girl reading the bulletin board. She took them inside, and introduced Harry, aged twelve, to the pastor, and took Emma, aged ten, to a girls' class. Later she went to the address which the children had given her, and found the entire family occupying one furnished room. While it was spotlessly clean, she knew there was something wrong when a father and mother and three children of five, ten and twelve years of age had no better living quarters. One day she found the mother intoxicated. The father was a moderate, steady drinker but the mother was a confirmed drunkard.

The missionary took the case to the women of the church and to the women's auxiliary of the city society by which the church was supported, with the result that an apartment next to the church was rented and

furnished. Three times this was done, and each time the furniture was sold for drink; but the fourth time the furniture stayed put. Then the real struggle began. It took four years of effort before drink was conquered. The activities of the church appealed to the children, especially the church community concert, where music, stories, and motion pictures were enjoyed by several hundred children each Tuesday night. Years have passed. The three children in that family have joined the church. Each has married and has a happy home. All are respected, useful citizens and still active in the old church.

### PROTESTANT GENIUS IN MAKING INDIVIDUALS USEFUL

It is greatly to the credit of the Protestant church that it has been successful in giving to individuals a sense of their own personal value, and in helping them to find a place of useful service. The church has trained many humble individuals to do important work, and has itself received valuable service from many who otherwise would have been useless to society, and in not a few cases a definite liability. President Wilson emphasized the value of the Bible in the hands of the common people as a means of developing the individual. The place of the lay forces, both in office and out, in the Protestant churches is an important one.

Nicholas's father died of tuberculosis, and his mother rented a furnished rooming house on a con-

gested street and lived in the dark and dingy basement with Nick and his sister Tessie, aged seven. Nick was ten years old when they moved near the church. He watched the happy children running in and out of the church building, and one evening he ventured in with Tessie. Nick always wanted "something to do," and this he found. At first it was play—out in the playground arranged by a resourceful pastor in an open space on the church property, and in the gymnasium, also improvised, in the old Sunday school room. As he grew a little older, the question of his personal relation to Jesus Christ came before Nick and he met it squarely. Because of this he lost his position with a Jewish employer, but he was unafraid and kept a brave heart. Later he wanted friendships, and found them in his church. The need of "something to do" as a boy became an ardent desire for responsibility as he grew older. The pastor saw this and made him a church usher. Later he became an officer in the young people's society and finally its president, and then superintendent of the Sunday school. So his development has gone on.

Mr. McK. was at the other end of the social scale, one of two senior partners in a large business of international reputation. He had a bitter experience of loneliness in Philadelphia, where, as a young man, he had met with business reverses and family sorrows. One Sunday night in extreme depression he went with his wife to church, but resolved never to go again

unless he found some evidence of sympathy on the part of the members of the church. He found it. This was the turning point in his life. Years afterwards in coming to New York he was drafted into church service and became the president of a denominational church city society. His influence was far-reaching. During his last illness he said to the writer, "I have been in business for forty years, yet I do not so much mind giving it up; but if I should be compelled to give up my city mission work it would break my heart."

One who thinks of the city in terms of poverty, sorrow and need alone, or in terms of vanity, selfishness and vice, has failed to understand it, for the city calls persons of both high and low degree to service requiring skill, unselfishness, and disinterested love.

### STRENGTH IN LAY LEADERSHIP

The strength of strong churches, particularly in downtown areas of our great cities, is in lay leadership. A church in Brooklyn, located in an area from which families generally have withdrawn, an area largely populated by single men and single women, has had a distinctive success in its ability to organize its lay forces. This applies not only to the outstanding individuals, prominent men and women, but quite as much to the rank-and-file memberships of the several organizations. These group organizations have undertaken definite projects quite outside their normal club

activities, thereby relating themselves to larger Christian enterprises.

In several outstanding downtown city churches the lay members locate individuals out of touch with any church, and keep in touch with them through group organizations. In one of the largest and most successful churches in Syracuse, New York, the membership is widely distributed, and the lay forces are organized into "centurion bands." The city is districted, and a centurion band is formed of resident church members in each community. Social evenings to promote acquaintance within the neighborhood are arranged by these centurion bands, and church projects are undertaken by them.

In many successful city churches the lay forces find expression in an enlarged board of deacons and a corresponding board of deaconesses. These boards are entrusted with the responsibility of keeping in personal contact with a given group of the church members. This is intended to overcome the difficulty of maintaining such contact, the lack of which has resulted in the wastage that has come to characterize most of our city churches.

The lay forces of the churches are frequently used in a personal approach to their wider constituencies —parents of Sunday school children, individuals in clubs, and others whose lives are more or less remotely touched by the church. Such personal evangelistic effort has assumed the proportions of a lay crusade

in many of the cities during the past few years, and is an important step in personalizing the church and enriching its fellowship.

### ORGANIZED CLUBS

Organized clubs give the best kind of opportunity to boys and girls in city streets. They frequently develop men and women of outstanding ability. This is seen in the case of Charlie F. Born on the lower East Side, reared in a hit-or-miss fashion, forced to shift for himself at an early age, he was compelled to endure the drunken abuse of a stepfather, and often interposed his undernourished body between this stepfather and his frightened mother. Bad environment outdid itself to get Charlie, but failed.

When he was ten years old he first went to a church maintained by a denominational city society. There he enjoyed the boys' club and games and was recognized as a leader, but after a time he ceased to come. Years later some force drew him back, and he dropped in unexpectedly one night and suggested to the group of boys present and to their leader that a Boy Scout troop be organized. His counsel prevailed. When he appeared again he was a man in the uniform of his country, and on furlough. He dropped in at the morning church service and remained for the young people's club business meeting, which was considering the advisability of disbanding. He infused into the club a new enthusiasm. It was not long before the pastor

had the joy of receiving him and fourteen others of the group into membership in the church. Today he is a deacon of that church. Although residing at a distance in a more favored district, he attends church regularly and will soon become Sunday school superintendent. He is employed as assistant foreman of the production department of one of the large newspaper syndicates.

Note how such individual life stories reflect city living conditions. When this young man established his own home, it was out of the neighborhood where he was brought up and where he had received his life's impulse through the neighborhood church. His experience reflects both the ability of young people to climb economically, and the large place which the church may take in their lives. It reflects as well the problem of the downtown church as it has been brought about by the steady suburban trend.

A street gang in one of the worst communities in New York wanted a hangout and decided to try out a church in the vicinity. The gang presented the matter to the pastor. Today Thomas, the leader of the gang, is clerk of that church. The gymnasium was the point of contact. Club leaders and church staff gave the boy a new vision of life. He became an earnest Christian while still living in the old environment, meeting the opposition of parents and the ridicule of some of his old friends, though it is to his credit that he carried the majority of his gang with him. Despite

the downward pull of the community he was graduated from City College, and is today a respected teacher in the school where he was once a pupil.

### 3 GROUP APPEAL

The distinctive leadership in the city is a leadership of small groups. The city as a whole knows no one voice. It heeds no single leader. What is true of the city as a whole is true to a large degree of each neighborhood.

One of the great functions of the church is to train individuals who in turn may become leaders of a few. That church is strong which multiplies group leadership of trained workers. Through small groups the church is able to personalize, to individualize, to become a corrective to the city's demoralizing herding processes, to release individuals from the city mechanism. There is opportunity within them for individuality to find expression in action directed toward worthwhile ends. Through identification with them, the sense of personal isolation disappears.

Churches generally have not succeeded in welding into unity or into general fellowship individuals or families of notably diverse culture, but many churches have succeeded by creating group fellowships—organizing the life of the church into such groups as will preserve the ease, dignity, good feeling, and sense of "belonging," whatever the individual's background or present status. If, however, group organization be-

comes an end in itself instead of being used to communicate the Christian spirit and motive, it fails to accomplish the purpose of the church.

Perhaps no political organization of any city has been more successful in attaining its ends than has Tammany Hall in New York. This organization has always been primarily a neighborhood organization. The great person in each neighborhood is not the Tammany chieftain at headquarters, but the local boss. Through his "annual outings," his facility for finding jobs for the faithful, his influence in the courts, his availability to persons in need, he has become the people's leader in his neighborhood. There is evidence that the Tammany organization is feeling the effects of the disintegration of neighborhoods, and that the power of the local boss is weakening because of the growing lack of cohesion in local communities.

This community breakdown is due, as we have seen, to city mobility, the pull of the suburbs upon the more resourceful, the attraction of the central city areas for social and recreational life, the separation of the family into individual units, and to many other causes. These conditions add to the problems of the community-serving church, the Christian center, and the neighborhood center.

Practically every successful downtown church in a densely populated area draws its largest constituency from non-adherent families who are reached through small group organizations led usually by volunteers.

The Olivet Institute of Chicago, in a community which had defied the more conventional approach of the average church, has found that it can reach small groups through volunteer or paid group leaders.

We have already seen that as families are "atomized," so are churches. Study the constituency of city churches in Dr. Douglass's *1000 City Churches,* for example, and note how large a proportion of new members come from outside the families of the given church. When individuals lose their attachment to the church of their fathers, they can be reached only through groups or as individuals. The right of children and young people to choose their own faith is being recognized outside of the Protestant church, as the following cases, well known to the writer, will witness.

Eleanor's mother came to the pastor of an evangelical Italian church to tell him that she feared for the moral safety of her daughter, an attractive girl who was attending evening high school. After classes she was released to the streets of a great city. The mother is nominally Catholic but actually without active faith; the father is a Hebrew, also inactive in his religion. The pastor appealed to the mother to give her daughter religious training. She remarked, "In religion Eleanor has been brought up like a house cat—without faith." "Evidently you don't want her to grow up like that, or you would not have come to me," the pastor remarked. "You take her and bring her under religious influences," the mother retorted. The girl

is now an active worker in the young people's organization of this church and is showing fine development.

Theresa is an attractive Italian young woman now in college. A few years ago she came to a downtown church center for music lessons. Soon she began to ask questions regarding the evangelical Christian faith. For many months she questioned both Protestant church workers and Catholic Sisters, relaying a kindly debate. Ultimately she became convinced of the truth of the Protestant or evangelical position. Her father was the first to be impressed with the favorable changes in his daughter. The mother was more reluctant, but she too was finally won by the great transformation. At this writing the mother has recently attended the mother-and-daughter dinner at the church, and the night before this word was written she was present at her daughter's baptism in a Protestant church. After the service a younger sister also declared her new faith.

The following exceptional case is attested by several persons known to the writer. A young Italian girl who was a regular attendant at various clubs and classes at a downtown church center became ill. The workers from the church, including the Italian pastor, called upon her faithfully, and the girl and her parents welcomed them gladly, though the latter were Catholics. The father, a prosperous business man, expended thirteen thousand dollars in a vain effort to restore his daughter's health. Before her death the

daughter declared her evangelical Christian faith in the presence of her parents, who accepted her declaration as valid. Upon her death they were, however, persuaded by others to hold the funeral services with the ceremonies of her former faith, and she was buried according to the rites of the Roman Catholic church. Three weeks later the father of his own accord came to the Protestant pastor to confess that he had violated the faith of his daughter and that he desired to make public atonement, which he did later. Such experiences illustrate the important fact that religion is primarily a matter of the individual's relationship to God, and only secondarily of his relationship to the church.

## MASS APPEAL

The church needs to emphasize mass appeal as well as group approach. In a great city the sense of isolation gives a feeling of helplessness. It is good for a member of a small group to be associated with something bigger than that group. The ability of a pastor to guide in a happy, congenial spirit a large number of diverse groups is the secret of the success of many downtown churches.

Mass gatherings in a community of furnished rooms, with their peculiar isolation and loneliness, give an approach to individuals who are not easily reached, and open the way into a new life for them. In suburban areas and in the better residence sections, the purpose of these large or small group gatherings is not

to be a substitute for the home, but to furnish a medium of acquaintance by which the members of a congregation may be welded together.

A church that leaves the social life of its people to outside agencies is failing to unify the church life. It is also failing to assist its young people to make the most helpful contacts. The writer recently visited a large church in the Middle West, a church with magnificent equipment but with no mid-week activities of any consequence for its young people. The social activities of the boys and girls are left to the high school and to commercial sources of recreation. Social activities in the church tend to hold the allegiance of the young people, and to give them an opportunity to exert a helpful personal influence. The importance of wise mating and of the building of Christian homes is sufficient to justify the church in providing opportunity for social acquaintance between the sexes within church circles.

### CREATING ENVIRONMENT

One of the important functions of a church worker in an unfavored district is to create atmosphere, an atmosphere that will make undesirable conduct seem out of harmony and in bad form. Were not the Greeks right in their emphasis upon the relation of beauty to conduct? Certainly good conduct has very direct bearing on social acceptability. From the viewpoint of young people particularly, this is an important consideration.

Under church auspices, fresh air and week-end house parties help to create a new set of influences for young people living under poor environmental conditions. Daisy Lopez got her first impulse to higher living in a fresh air house party. The pastor of a downtown church on the edge of New York's Greenwich Village, one of the most bizarre of the bohemian colonies in American cities, in a personal letter says: "As for a camp, I am sure that our greatest opportunity to break the hold of the environment is the extended time with which we may live with our young people in a wholesome environment. The loathsome shell of coarseness seems to melt away in the sunshine of the out-of-doors, the healthful activity of camp life, and the association with fine leaders. I am convinced of the necessity of a place where we may live with our young people away from the city for a time. Moreover, I am certain that our effectiveness would be greatly increased if it were possible for us to have an outpost where at any time in the year we could gather together such groups or individuals as we desire, and there, away from the mad exaggerated life of the lower west side, live together in a normal and friendly relationship."

Reference has been made to the Rev. Roswell Bates, to Dr. Edward Judson, who served one downtown church for thirty-three years, to Dr. Rainsford, who served another downtown church for an almost equal

period of years, and to Dr. Norman W. Barr of the Olivet Institute of Chicago, whose personality has permeated that institution from its beginning. In localities that cry out loudest for a friend, it is exceedingly important that the pastor and church workers generally should serve for a long period of years. Institutions live longer than men, but they are of little value unless strong men live in them.

### VALUE OF PERSONALITY

If the church would have success in the city, particularly in the downtown areas, it must learn to emphasize the value of a person, and to utilize the total force of personality within its own membership. There is far greater wastage of spiritual forces within the Christian church through failure to utilize personality, than in the nation through failure to utilize natural resources. Every community is potentially rich in undeveloped personality. Mrs. Simkhovitch, prominent leader in the settlement house movement, once said, "The settlement is based on the belief that the springs of beauty of character and of the best social development are to be found in the lives of our working people." Do not the preceding life stories prove this? And Dr. Rainsford wrote: "Our critics and our friends, when they visited us, said we had a wonderful organization, but few saw that *organization* was not the secret. That lay in the living spirit that animated all, the spirit of service that dear Jacob Riis had so well

named 'salvation by human touch.' Nothing new in it, for it was Jesus' way." [1]

Jesus was a person. The person of Jesus as well as his cross is "towering o'er the wrecks of time." What priests and prophets had failed to do, God did by way of the incarnation. "God was in Christ." "The word became flesh." The teachable spirit, the spirit of humility, the forgiving spirit, the spirit of simplicity, of loveliness and sweet reasonableness, all were incarnated in Jesus and in him given new value. The divine love was mediated by his compassionate hand. God was "foreshortened" and brought within terms of human understanding in him.

The record of the early church is a record of the successive enduement of men with the divine spirit. The triumph of the church was in the transcendent living of humble people. The church today should seek out every opportunity for sympathetic personal contact, in the profound faith that there is a contagion in Godliness.

The city has made great progress in its mechanism —sanitation perfected, public health improved, communication intensified. Economic advance has lifted the average income; mass production has given more and cheaper things to have and to use. Social welfare has become a matter of public concern and accepted responsibility.

For all this, has the life of the individual become

[1] Rainsford, *The Story of a Varied Life*, p. 307.

richer and more free? Has personality better opportunity for development and expression? Is not this an area of neglected progress? Should not the church regard it as its most distinctive field? "I came that they may have life, and may have it abundantly." It is noteworthy that in studying the city mind and the acute need of the city man, we should be brought back to Jesus of Nazareth.

"He who sows the good seed is the son of man, the field is the world; the good seed means the sons of the kingdom." The city cries out for men who are willing to be "sown as wheat in the furrows of the world."

*O God, we pray thee for this, the city of our love and pride. We rejoice in her spacious beauty and her busy ways of commerce, in her stores and factories where hand joins hand in toil, and in her blessed homes where heart joins heart for rest and love.*

*Help us to make our city the mighty common workshop of our people, where everyone will find his place and task, in daily achievement building up his own life to resolute manhood, keen to do his best with hand and mind. Help us to make our city the greater home of our people, where all may live their lives in comfort, unafraid, loving their loves in peace and rounding out their years in strength. . . .*

*Grant us a vision of our city, fair as she might be; a city of justice, where none shall prey on others; a city of plenty, where vice and poverty shall cease to fester; a city of brotherhood, where all success shall be founded on service, and honor shall be given to nobleness alone; a city of peace, where order shall not rest on force, but on the love of all for the city, the great mother of the common life and weal. Hear thou, O Lord, the silent prayer of all our hearts as we each pledge our time and strength and thought to speed the day of her coming beauty and righteousness.*

—Walter Rauschenbusch, *"For Our City,"* in *Prayers of the Social Awakening.*

# *Appendix*

TABLE I

## VITAL STATISTICS, CERTAIN LARGE AMERICAN CITIES, 1927 [1]

| *Cities* | *Death Rate per 1,000 population* | *Infant Mortality (deaths under 1 per 1,000 births)* |
|---|---|---|
| Baltimore | 14.14 | 78.41 |
| Boston | 14.00 | 76.78 |
| Buffalo | 12.71 | 71.00 |
| Chicago | 11.52 | 62.75 |
| Cincinnati | 16.60 | 72.90 |
| Cleveland | 9.64 | 56.00 |
| Detroit | 10.80 | 69.90 |
| Los Angeles | 10.71 | 65.73 |
| Milwaukee | 10.40 | 62.39 |
| Minneapolis | 10.60 | 46.80 |
| Newark | 10.90 | 63.60 |
| New Orleans | 18.04 | 88.12 |
| New York | 11.80 | 55.92 |
| Philadelphia | 12.18 | 63.78 |
| Pittsburgh | 13.40 | 71.90 |
| Providence | 11.63 | 62.77 |
| San Francisco | 11.76 | 49.60 |
| St. Paul | 9.88 | 49.04 |
| Washington | 12.94 | 65.90 |

[1] Weekly Bulletin, Department of Health, City of New York, June, 1928.

TABLE 2

NATURAL INCREASE PER THOUSAND IN THE UNITED STATES, 1923[1]

| | *Birth Rate* | *Death Rate* | *Natural Increase* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Total Registration Area: | | | |
| White | 22.1 | 12.0 | 10.1 |
| Negro | 26.3 | 17.7 | 8.6 |
| Cities (over 10,000) in Registration Area: | | | |
| White | 22.2 | 12.4 | 9.8 |
| Negro | 25.2 | 22.0 | 3.2 |
| Balance of Registration Area: | | | |
| White | 22.0 | 11.5 | 10.5 |
| Negro | 26.9 | 15.2 | 11.7 |

[1] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities*, p. 34.

TABLE 3

## LEADING IMMIGRANT STOCKS

A. CLASSIFIED BY RACE OR PEOPLE (1927) [1]

| *Race or People* | *Net Immigration* | *Percentage of Total Net Immigration* |
|---|---|---|
| Mexican | 63,308 | 25.4 |
| German | 47,054 | 18.9 |
| Irish | 38,666 | 15.5 |
| English | 28,272 | 11.4 |
| Scotch | 22,055 | 8.9 |
| French | 17,159 | 6.9 |
| Scandinavian | 14,599 | 5.9 |
| Hebrew | 11,844 | 4.8 |
| Total | 242,957 | 97.7 |
| Total net immigration | 248,763 | |

B. CLASSIFIED BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN (1927) [2]

| *Country* | *Net Immigration* | *Percentage of Total Net Immigration* |
|---|---|---|
| Canada | 74,396 | 29.91 |
| Mexico | 64,183 | 25.80 |
| Germany | 40,199 | 16.16 |
| Irish Free State | 24,212 | 9.73 |
| Scotland | 10,602 | 4.26 |
| Sweden | 6,482 | 2.58 |
| Poland | 6,374 | 2.56 |
| Total | 226,394 | 91.00 |

[1] *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. XXXIV, no. 1, p. 11.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

TABLE 4

PER CENT OF URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION, BY RACE[1]

| | POPULATION | | | INCREASE[2] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *1900* | *1910* | *1920* | *1900-1910* | *1910-1920* |
| Total United States: | | | | | |
| Negro Urban | 22.7 | 27.3 | 34.0 | 34.1 | 32.6 |
| Negro Rural | 77.3 | 72.7 | 66.0 | 4.6 | *—3.4* |
| White Urban | 42.4 | 48.2 | 53.4 | 39.1 | 28.5 |
| White Rural | 57.6 | 51.8 | 46.6 | 10.0 | 4.4 |
| Southern States: | | | | | |
| Negro Urban | 17.2 | 21.2 | 25.3 | 35.9 | 21.4 |
| Negro Rural | 82.8 | 78.8 | 74.7 | 5.1 | *—3.4* |
| White Urban | 18.5 | 23.2 | 29.2 | 56.0 | 47.9 |
| White Rural | 81.5 | 76.8 | 70.8 | 17.2 | 8.3 |
| Northern and Western States: | | | | | |
| Negro Urban | 69.9 | 77.0 | 84.4 | 30.3 | 57.6 |
| Negro Rural | 30.1 | 23.0 | 15.6 | *—9.4* | *—2.3* |
| White Urban | 50.2 | 56.6 | 61.6 | 37.1 | 23.0 |
| White Rural | 49.8 | 43.4 | 38.4 | 6.1 | 2.1 |

[1] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities*, p. 28.
[2] Italics denote decrease.

TABLE 5

NEGRO URBAN POPULATION[1]

| | *In All Cities* | *In Cities of 2,500 to 10,000* | *In Cities of 10,000 to 100,000* | *In Cities of 100,000 and Over* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total United States: | | | | |
| 1900 | 2,002,008 | 540,199 | 793,555 | 668,254 |
| 1910 | 2,684,797 | 652,186 | 1,009,050 | 1,023,561 |
| 1920 | 3,559,473 | 667,848 | 1,207,049 | 1,684,576 |
| Increase, 1900-10 | 682,789 | 111,987 | 215,495 | 355,307 |
| Increase, 1910-20 | 874,676 | 15,662 | 197,999 | 661,015 |
| % increase, 1900-10 | 34.1 | 20.7 | 27.2 | 53.2 |
| % increase, 1910-20 | 32.6 | 2.4 | 19.6 | 64.6 |
| Southern States: | | | | |
| 1900 | 1,364,796 | 424,033 | 608,040 | 332,723 |
| 1910 | 1,854,455 | 539,516 | 766,056 | 548,883 |
| 1920 | 2,250,969 | 554,544 | 910,881 | 785,544 |
| Increase, 1900-10 | 489,659 | 115,483 | 158,016 | 216,160 |
| Increase, 1910-20 | 396,514 | 15,028 | 144,825 | 236,661 |
| % increase, 1900-10 | 35.9 | 27.2 | 26.0 | 65.0 |
| % increase, 1910-20 | 21.4 | 2.8 | 18.9 | 43.1 |
| Northern and Western States: | | | | |
| 1900 | 637,212 | 116,166 | 185,515 | 335,531 |
| 1910 | 830,342 | 112,670 | 242,994 | 474,678 |
| 1920 | 1,308,504 | 113,304 | 296,168 | 899,032 |
| Increase, 1900-10[2] | 193,130 | *—3,496* | 57,479 | 139,147 |
| Increase, 1910-20 | 478,162 | 634 | 53,174 | 424,354 |
| % increase, 1900-10[2] | 30.3 | *—3.0* | 31.0 | 41.5 |
| % increase, 1910-20 | 57.6 | .6 | 21.9 | 89.4 |

[1] T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Negro Problems in Cities*, p. 30.
[2] Italics denote decrease.

TABLE 6

## RELATION OF DENSITY OF POPULATION AND DISEASE AS ILLUSTRATED BY RECORDS OF THE PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF HEALTH[1]

| *Ward* | *Density Per Acre* | *Deaths Per 100,000 Tuberculosis* | *Deaths Under 1 Year Per 1,000 Births* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 14 | 63.6 | 230 | 8.9 |
| 22 | 78.8 | 127 | 10.6 |
| 34 | 80.0 | 241 | 6.7 |
| 29 | 89.6 | 195 | 8.1 |
| 28 | 96.3 | 116 | 10.3 |
| 26 | 106.7 | 188 | 9.8 |
| 36 | 109.0 | 198 | 11.0 |
| 40 | 110.5 | 215 | 14.2 |
| 24 | 111.3 | 203 | 8.9 |
| 32 | 114.6 | 203 | 9.1 |
| 47 | 116.6 | 206 | 12.2 |
| 13 | 118.9 | 253 | 15.2 |
| 20 | 120.3 | 272 | 10.7 |
| 15 | 121.4 | 308 | 11.2 |
| 14 | 123.0 | 290 | 13.7 |
| 30 | 140.9 | 299 | 10.7 |
| 7 | 164.3 | 463 | 12.5 |
| 2 | 169.2 | 408 | 15.7 |
| 3 | 170.2 | 341 | 8.3 |
| 4 | 170.4 | 400 | 13.2 |

[1] Compiled by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

## A *Brief Reading List*

Readers undertaking a careful study of the city will need a fuller bibliography than this brief list presents. Such a bibliography is readily available in Chapter X of Park and Burgess' book, *The City,* which is described below. This chapter is entitled "A Bibliography of the Urban Community," and includes a scheme for the classification of the literature of the sociology of the city under eleven heads. Scores of books and magazine articles are noted, and the general theses of many of them are set forth.

Some books valuable for reference have been included in the following list even though they are out of print. They may be found in libraries.

*Are There Too Many Churches in Our Town?* A discussion outline. *The Inquiry,* New York. 1928. $1.25.

*Census of Religious Bodies, 1916.* 2 vols. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C. 1919. Also for 1900 and 1906. (1926 census forthcoming.)

*Christianity's Storm Center: A Study of the Modern City.* Charles Stelzle. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 1907. $1.

*Church City Planning.* Charles H. Sears, ed. (New and revised edition; originally published under the title, *Baptist City Planning*). Judson Press. 1928. $1.25.

*Church in the Changing City, The.* H. Paul Douglass. Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. 1927. $4.

*City, The.* R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess. University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1925. $2.

*City the Hope of Democracy, The.* F. C. Howe. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1905. $1.50.

*City's Church, The.* H. Paul Douglass. Friendship Press, New York. 1929. $1.50.

*Edward Judson, Interpreter of God.* Charles H. Sears. Judson Press, Philadelphia. $1.

*Encyclopedia Americana, The.* 1918 edition. Vol. VI. Article, "City."

*Encyclopedia Brittanica, The.* 1911 edition. Article, "City."

*Good Neighbor in the Modern City, The.* Mary E. Richmond. (Sage Foundation Publication.) J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 1907. $1.

*Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics.* Adna Ferrin Weber. Columbia University Press, New York. 1899. $5.50.

*How to Study the City Church.* H. Paul Douglass. Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. 1928. $2.

*Life of H. Roswell Bates, The.* Ralph S. Harlow. Out of print.

*Middletown.* R. S. and H. M. Lynd. Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York. 1929. $5.

*Misery and Its Causes.* Edward T. Devine. Macmillan Co., New York. 1913. $1.75.

*Modern City and Its Problems, The.* F. C. Howe. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1915. $1.75.

*Negro Problems in Cities.* T. J. Woofter, Jr. Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. 1928. $2.50.

*1000 City Churches; Phases of Adaptation to Urban Environment.* H. Paul Douglass. Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. 1926. $4.

*Prayers of the Social Awakening.* Walter Rauschenbusch. Pilgrim Press, Boston. 1925. $1.

*Readings in Urban Sociology.* S. E. W. Bedford, ed. D. Appleton & Co., New York. 1926. $5.

*Redemption of the City, The.* C. H. Sears. Judson Press, Philadelphia. 1911. 50 cents.

*Religion Lends a Hand.* James Myers. Harper & Brothers, New York. Ready autumn 1929. Probable price, $2.

*Satellite Cities: A Study of Industrial Suburbs.* Graham Romeyn Taylor. Out of print.

*Springfield Church Survey, The; A Study of Organized Religion with its Social Background.* H. Paul Douglass. Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. 1926. $4.

*St. Louis Church Survey, The; A Religious Investment with a Social Background.* H. Paul Douglass. Institute of Social and Religious Research, New York. 1924. $4.

*Story of a Varied Life, The.* W. S. Rainsford. Doubleday, Doran & Co., Garden City, N. Y. 1922. $2.50.

*Suburban Trend, The.* H. Paul Douglass. Century Co., New York. 1925. $2.

*World Survey; American Volume.* Interchurch World Movement, New York. Out of print.

PAMPHLETS AND PERIODICALS

*Ten Steps Toward Your Neighborhood Community.* William P. Shriver. Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, New York. 1926. 16 pp. 10 cents.

*What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities.* M. F. Byington. Russell Sage Foundation, New York. 1924. Paper, 25 cents.

*American Journal of Sociology.*

Vol. XXXII, No. 1. Article, "The City," by E. W. Burgess.

Vol. XXXIII, No. 5. Article, "Hotel Life and Personality," by Norman S. Hayner.

Vol. XXXIV, No. 1. Articles, "Public Health and Medicine," by Harry H. Moore; "Communication," by E. W. Burgess; "Group and Community Organization," by LeRoy E. Bowman.

*Biblical World.* Vol. XLVIII, October 1916. Article, "The Clash of Contending Forces in Great Cities," by Charles H. Sears.

*Century Magazine.* Vol. CVIII, August 1924, pp. 548-55. Article, "America's City Civilization: The Natural Division of the United States," by S. Desmond.

*Survey Graphic.* Vol. LIV, May 1, 1925, pp. 129-76, Symposium, "Regional Community; A new plan of relating masses of population to the land."

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